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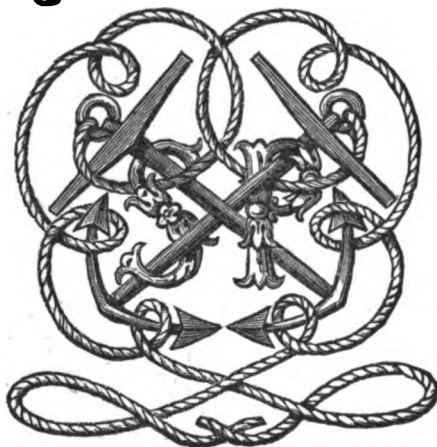
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DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE OF.

SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ., F.R.S.

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DIARY
AND
CORRESPONDENCE
OF
SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ., F.R.S.

FROM HIS MS. CYPHER IN THE PEPYSIAN LIBRARY,

WITH A LIFE AND NOTES BY
RICHARD LORD BRAYBROOKE.

DECIPHERED, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES, BY
REV. MYNORS BRIGHT, M.A.,
PRESIDENT AND SENIOR FELLOW OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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BEQUEST OF
ARTHUR STUART WALCOTT
JUNE 1, 1923 W

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

APRIL 9TH, 1666. Up betimes, and with my Joyner begun the making of the window in my boy's chamber bigger, purposing it shall be a roome to eat and for having musique in. To the office and then home with Creed and dined. Thence by coach to Mrs. Pierce's, and with her and Knipp and Mrs. Pierce's boy and girle abroad, thinking to have been merry at Chelsey; but being come almost to the house by coach near the waterside, a house alone, I think the Swan, a gentleman walking by called to us to tell us that the house was shut up of the sicknesse. So we with great affright turned back, being holden to the gentleman; and went away (I for my part in great disorder) for Kensington, and there I spent about 30s. upon the jades with great pleasure, and we sang finely and staid about eight at night, the night coming on apace and so set them down and so away home.

10th. To the office and again all the afternoon, the first time of our resolution to sit both forenoons and afternoons. Much business at night and then home

to supper, and after having my head combed by the little girle to bed.

11th. To White Hall, having first set my people to worke about setting me rails upon the leads of my wife's closett, a thing I have long designed. After having done with the Duke of York, I to Hales's, where there was nothing found to be done more to my picture,¹ but the musique, which now pleases me mightily, it being painted true. After dinner to Gresham College, where a great deal of do and formality in choosing of the Council and Officers. I had three votes to be of the Council, who am but a stranger, nor expected any. So my Lord Brouncker being confirmed President I home where I find to my great content my rails up upon my leads. To the office and did a little business and then home and did a great jobb at my Tangier accounts, which I find are mighty apt to run into confusion, my head also being too full of other businesses and pleasures.

12th. Taking a turne in the garden my Lady Pen comes to me and takes me into her house, where I find her daughter and a pretty lady² of her acquaint-

¹ This picture was bought by Mr. Peter Cunningham at the sale of the Pepys-Cockerell collection in 1848, and it was purchased by the trustees of the National Portrait Gallery in 1866. Pepys is represented in a gown "which I hired to be drawn in; a morning gowne," and holding in his left hand a piece of music, his own composition, with the words, "Beauty retire." The trustees of the Gallery have permitted me to have a photograph taken of it. There is a similar picture belonging to Mr. Hawes, of Kensington, which Mr. Scharf, the Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery, thinks is either a *replica* or a good old copy. (M. B.)

² Margaret Lowther, subsequently married to John Holmes, afterwards knighted.

ance, one Mrs. Lowther, sister, I suppose, of her servant Lowther's, with whom I, notwithstanding all my resolution to follow business close this afternoon, did stay talking and playing the foole almost all the afternoon, and there saw two or three foolish sorry pictures of her doing, but very ridiculous compared to what my wife do. She grows mighty homely and looks old. Thence ashamed at myself for this losse of time, yet not able to leave it, I to the office, where my Lord Brouncker came; and he and I had a little fray, he being, I find, a very peevish man, if he be denied what he expects, and very simple in his arguments in this business (about signing a warrant for paying Sir Thos. Allen 1,000*l.* out of the groats); but we were pretty good friends before we parted.

13th. Called up by my wife's brother, for whom I have got a commission from the Duke of York for Muster-Master of one of the divisions, of which Harman is Rere-Admirall,¹ of which I am glad as well as he. With Balty into the Parke, and to the Queene's Chappell, it being Good Friday, where people were all upon their knees very silent; but, it seems, no masse this day. So waited on the Duke and received some commands of his and so by coach to Mr. Hales's. Here he and I presently resolved of going to White Hall, to spend an houre in the galleries there among the pictures, and we did so to my great satisfaction, he shewing me the difference in the payntings,

¹ See *ante*, 16th June, 1665.

and when I come more and more to distinguish and observe the workmanship, I do not find so many good things as I thought there was, but yet great difference between the works of some and others; and, while my head and judgment was full of these, I would go back again to his house to see his pictures, and indeed, though, I think, at first sight some difference do open, yet very inconsiderable but that I may judge his to be very good pictures. Here we fell into discourse of my picture, and I am for his putting out the *Land-skip*,¹ though he says it is very well done, yet I do judge it will be best without it, and so it shall be put out, and be made a plain sky like my wife's picture, which will be very noble. Thence called upon an old woman in Pannier Alley to agree for ruling of some paper for me and she will do it pretty cheap. Here I found her have a very comely black mayde to her servant, which I liked very well. Thence home, and thither comes Mr. Houblon and a brother, with whom I evened for the charter parties of their ships for Tangier, and paid them the third advance on their freight to full satisfaction, and so, they being gone, comes Creed and with him till past one in the morning, evening his accounts till my head ached and I was fit for nothing, however, coming at last luckily to see through and settle all to my mind, it did please

¹ Mr. Scharf, the Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery, tells me that one, at least, of the pictures by Hales, at Woburn Abbey, is remarkable for the powerful effect of the Landscape background, and bold treatment of the sky. (M. B.)

me mightily and so with my mind at rest to bed, and he with me and hard to sleep.

14th. Up about seven and finished our papers, he and I, and I delivered him tallys and some money and so away I to the office. Anon called thence by Sir H. Cholmley and he and I to my chamber, and there settled our matters of accounts and so he being gone and all these accounts cleared I shall be even with the King, so as to make a very clear and short account in a very few days, which pleases me very well. Here he and I discoursed a great while about Tangier and he do convince me, as things are now ordered by Lord Bellairs and will be by Norwood, (men that do only fill themselves) the garrison will never come to anything, and he proposes his owne being governor, which in truth I do think will do very well, and that he will bring it to something. He gone I to my office, where to write letters late and then home and so to bed.

15th. Walked into the Park to the Queene's chappell, and there heard a good deal of their mass, and some of their musique, which is not so contemptible, I think, as our people would make it, it pleasing me very well; and, indeed, better than the anthem I heard afterwards at White Hall, at my coming back. I staid till the King went down to receive the Sacrament, and stood in his closett with a great many others, and there saw him receive it, which I did never see the manner of before. But I do see very little difference between the degree of the ceremonies

used by our people in the administration thereof, and that in the Roman church, saving that methought, our Chappell was not so fine, nor the manner of doing it so glorious, as it was in the Queene's chappell. Thence walked to Mr. Pierce's, and there dined: very good company and good discourse, they being able to tell me all the businesses of the Court; the amours and the mad doings that are there; how for certain Mrs. Stewart is become the King's mistress; and that the King hath many bastard children that are known and owned, besides the Duke of Monmouth. After a great deale of this discourse I walked thence into the Parke with her little boy James with me, who is the wittiest boy and the best company in the world and so back again through White Hall both coming and going, and people did generally take him to be my boy and some would aske me. Thence home to Mr. Pierce again; and he being gone forth, she and I and the children, out by coach to Kensington, to where we were the other day, and with great pleasure stayed till night; and were mighty late getting home, the horses tiring and stopping at every twenty steps. Seeing them well at home I homeward but the horses at Ludgate Hill made a final stop; so there I lighted, and with a linke walked home and after singing a Psalm or two and supped to bed.

16th. I hard to the settling of my Tangier accounts. At noon dined alone and then comes Mrs. Mercer and fair Mrs. Turner, a neighbour of hers, to visit me. I staid a great while with them, being taken with this

pretty woman, though a mighty silly, affected citizen woman she is. Called at Kirton's to borrow 10s. to pay for my ruled papers, I having not money in my pocket enough to pay for them. But it was a pretty consideration that on this occasion I was considering where I could with most confidence in a time of need borrow 10s., and I protest I could not tell where to do it and with some trouble and fear did aske it here. So that God keepe me from want, for I shall be in a very bad condition to helpe myself if ever I should come to want or borrow. Thence called for my papers and so home and there comes Mrs. Turner and Mercer and supped with me and well pleased I was with their company, but especially Mrs. Turner's, she being a very pretty woman of person and her face pretty good, the colour of her haire very fine and light. They staid with me talking till about eleven o'clock and so home, W. Hewer, who supped with me, leading them home. So I to bed.

17th. Up, and to the office, where all the morning. At noon dined at home, my brother Balty with me, who is fitting himself to go to sea. Thence to the office, where all the afternoon late, but, Lord ! what a conflict I had with myself, my heart tempting me 1,000 times to go abroad about some pleasure or other, notwithstanding the weather foule. However I reproached myself with my weaknesse in yielding so much my judgment to my sense, and prevailed with difficulty and did not budge, and, to my great content, did a great deale of business, and so home to supper

and to bed. This day I am told that Moll Davis, the pretty girle, that sang and danced so well at the Duke's house, is dead.¹

18th. By coach with Sir W. Batten and Sir Thos. Allen to White Hall, and there after attending the Duke as usual and there concluding of many things preparatory to the Prince and General's going to sea on Monday next, Sir W. Batten and Sir T. Allen and I to Mr. Lilly's, the painter's; and there saw the heads, some finished, and all begun, of the Flaggmen,² in the late great fight with the Duke of York against the Dutch. The Duke of York hath them done to hang in his chamber, and very finely they are done indeed. There are the Prince's, Sir G. Askue's, Sir Thomas Teddiman's,³ Sir Christopher Mings, Sir Joseph Jordan, Sir William Barkeley, Sir Thomas Allen,⁴ and Captain Harman's,⁵ as also the Duke of Albe-marle's; and will be my Lord Sandwich's, Sir W. Pen's, and Sir Jeremy Smith's.⁶ I was very well satisfied with this sight, and other good pictures hanging in the house. To the Exchange, and there did see great plenty of fine prints; but did not buy any only a print of an old pillar in Rome made for a Naval

¹ This report of her death was not true. See March 7th, 1666-67. (M. B.)

² The Admirals. (M. B.)

³ Sir Thomas Teddiman, then Vice-Admiral of the White.

⁴ Sir Thomas Allen became Comptroller of the Navy.

⁵ Afterwards Sir John Harman.

⁶ Pepys omits Sir John Lawson. The pictures (Prince Rupert excepted) are now in the Naval Hall at Greenwich.

Triumph,' which for the antiquity of the shape of ships, I buy and keepe.² Thence to the Exchange, that is, the New Exchange, and looked over some play books and intend to get all the late new plays. Thence away to Mrs. Pierce's who was not at home, but gone to my house to visit me with Mrs. Knipp. I therefore took up the little girle Betty and my mayde Mary that now lives there and to my house, where they had been but were gone, so in our way back again met them coming back again to my house in Cornhill and there stopped laughing at our pretty misfortunes, and so I carried them to Fish Streete, and there treated them with prawns and lobsters, and it beginning to grow darke we away, but the jest is our horses would not draw us up the Hill, but we were fain to 'light and stay till the coachman had made them draw down to the bottom of the Hill, thereby warming their legs, and then they came up cheerfully enough, and we got up and I carried them home and coming home called at my paper ruler's and there found black Evan, which pleases me mightily. In all my ridings in the coach and intervals my mind has been full these three weeks of setting in musique "It is decreed," &c.

19th. To the office where all the morning. At noon dined with Sir W. Warren at the Pope's Head.

¹ The *columna rostrata*, erected in the Forum to C. Duillius, who obtained a triumph for the first naval victory over the Carthaginians, a. c. 261. Part of the column was discovered in the ruins of the Forum near the Arch of Septimius, and transferred to the Capitol.

² This is the first mention of Pepys's buying prints.

So back to the office, and there met with the Commissioners of the Ordnance, where Sir W. Pen being almost drunk vexed me and the more because Mr. Chichly observed it and it was a disparagement to the office. Anon comes home my wife from Brampton, not looked for till Saturday, which will hinder me of a little pleasure, but I am glad of her coming. She tells me Pall's business with Ensum is like to go on, but I must give, and she consents to it, another 100*l*. She says she doubts my father is in want of money, for rents come in mighty slowly. My mother grows very unpleasant and troublesome and my father mighty infirm through his old distemper,¹ which altogether makes me mighty thoughtfull.

20th. Up, and after an houre or two's talke with my poor wife, who gives me more and more content every day than other, I abroad by coach to Westminster, and there met with Mrs. Martin, and she and I over the water to Stangold, and after a walke in the fields to the King's Head, and there spent an houre or two with pleasure with her, and eat a tansy and so parted, and I to the New Exchange, there to get a list of all the modern plays which I intend to collect and to have them bound up together. Thence to Mr. Hales's, and there, though against his particular mind, I had my landskipp done out, and only a heaven made in the roome of it, which though it do not please me thoroughly now it is done, yet it will do better than as

¹ A rupture. (M. B.)

it was before. Thence to Paul's Churchyarde, and there bespoke some new books. So home and to my office a little, but was hindered of business I intended by being sent for to Mrs. Turner, who desired some discourse with me and lay her condition before me, which is bad and poor. Sir Thomas Harvey intends again to have lodgings in her house, which she prays me to prevent if I can, which I promised. Thence to talke generally of our neighbours. I find she tells me the faults of all of them, and their bad words of me and my wife, and indeed do discover more than I thought. So I told her, and so will practise that I will have nothing to do with any of them. She ended all with a promise of shells to my wife, very fine ones indeed, and seems to have great respect and honour for my wife. So home and to bed.

21st. At the office to finish my matters against the meeting before the Duke this afternoon, so home about three to clap a bit of meate in my mouth, and so away to White Hall, and there to the Duke, but he being to go abroad to take the ayre, he dismissed us presently without doing anything till to-morrow morning. So my Lord Brouncker and I down to walk in the garden at White Hall, it being a mighty hot and pleasant day; and there was the King, who, among others, talked to us a little; and among other pretty things, he swore merrily that he believed the ketch that Sir W. Batten bought the last year at Colchester, was of his own getting, it was so thick to its length. Another pleasant thing he said of Christo-

pher Pett, commending him that he will not alter his moulds of his ships upon any man's advice ; "as," says he, "Commissioner Taylor I fear do of his New London, that he makes it differ, in hopes of mending the Old London, built by him." "For," says he, "he finds that God hath put him into the right, and so will keep in it while he is in." "And," says the King, "I am sure it must be God put him in, for no art of his owne ever could have done it ;" for it seems he cannot give a good account of what he do as an artist. Thence with my Lord Brouncker in his coach to Hide Parke, the first time I have been there this year. There the King was ; but I was sorry to see my Lady Castlemaine, for the mourning forcing all the ladies to go in black, with their hair plain and without any spots, I find her to be a much more ordinary woman than ever I durst have thought she was ; and, indeed, is not so pretty as Mrs. Stewart, whom I saw there also.

22nd (Lord's day). Up, and put on my new black coate, long down to my knees, and to White Hall, where all in deep mourning for the Queene's mother. There had great discourse, before the Duke and Sir W. Coventry begun the discourse of the day about the purser's business, which I seconded, and with great liking to the Duke. Thence away with Sir W. Batten in his coach home, in our way he telling me the certaine newes that the Bishop of Munster has made a league with the Hollanders, and that our King and Court are displeased much at it ; moreover

we are not sure of Sweden. I home and there dined mighty well, my poor wife and Mercer and I. So back again walked to White Hall, and there to and again in the Parke, till being in the shoemaker's stockes I was heartily weary, yet walked however to the Queene's Chappell at St. James's, and there saw a little mayde baptized ; many parts and words whereof are the same with that of our Liturgy, and little that is more ceremonious than ours. Thence walked to Westminster and so to Worcester House,¹ and there staid, and saw the Council up, and then back to the Cockepitt, and there took my leave of the Duke of Albemarle, who is going to-morrow to sea. He seems mightily pleased with me, which I am glad of ; but I do find infinitely my concernment in being careful to appear to the King and Duke to continue my care of his business, and to be found diligent as I used to be. So wearily home to supper and to bed, having sat a great while with Will Joyce, who came to see me, and it is the first time since the plague, and I find him the same impertinent, prating coxcombe that ever he was.

23rd. To the office, and toward noon took coach and to White Hall, where I had the opportunity to take leave of the Prince, and again of the Duke of Albemarle ; and saw them kiss the King's hands and the Duke's ; and much content, indeed, there seems to be in all people at their going to sea, and they prom-

¹ In the Strand, rented by Lord Clarendon while his house was building. (M. B.)

ise themselves much good from them. This morning the House of Parliament do meet, only to adjourne again till winter. The plague, I hear, encreases in the towne much, and exceedingly in the country everywhere. Away home, in my way asking in two or three places the worth of pearles, I being now come to the time that I have long ago promised my wife a necklace. My wife and I and the girle by coach to Islington, and there eat and drank in the coach and so home, and there find a girle sent at my desire by Mrs. Michell of Westminster Hall, to be my girle under the cooke-mayde, Susan. But I am a little dissatisfied that the girle, though young, is taller and bigger than Su, and will not, I fear, be under her command, which will trouble me. So to my accounts and journall, there being bonfires in the streete, for being St. George's day, and the King's Coronation, and the day of the Prince and Duke's going to sea.

24th. Up, and presently am told that the girle that came yesterday has packed up her things to be gone home again to Enfield, whence she came, which I was glad of. The reason was that London do not agree with her. So I did give her something, and away she went. By and by comes Mr. Bland to me, the first time since his coming from Tangier, and tells me, in short, how all things are out of order there, and like to be; and the place never likely to come to anything while the soldiers govern all, and do not encourage trade.

25th. I to the office, where Mr. Prin came to meet

about the Chest business;¹ and till company come, did discourse with me a good while alone in the garden about the laws of England, telling me the many faults in them; and among others, their obscurity through multitude of long statutes, which he is about to abstract out of all of a sort;² and as he lives, and Parliaments come, get them put into laws, and the other statutes repealed, and then it will be a short work to know the law, which appears a very noble good thing. By and by Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Rider met with us, and we did something to purpose about the Chest, and I hope we shall go on to do so. They up, I to present Balty to Sir W. Pen, who at my entreaty did write a most obliging letter to Harman to use him civilly, but the dissembling of the rogue is such, that it do not oblige me at all. So abroad to my ruler's of my books, having, God forgive me! a mind to see Evan there, which I did. So that indeed I am not, as I ought to be, able to command myself in the pleasures of my eye. So home, and with my wife and Mercer spent our evening upon our new leads by our bedchamber singing, while Mrs. Mary Batelier looked out of the window to us, and we talked together. My wife and I staid there till eleven o'clock at night, and it is a convenience I would not want for anything in the world, it being, methinks,

¹ At Chatham.

² Early in the session of 1852-53, Lord Cranworth, Lord High Chancellor, intimated the appointment of a Commission to prepare the way for a general Code Victoria, to emulate the Code Napoleon.

better than almost any roome in my house. So having supped upon the leads, to bed. The plague, blessed be God ! is decreased sixteen this week.

27th. Abroad to many several places about several businesses. At noon to the 'Change a little, and then bespoke some maps to hang in my new roome (my boy's roome) which will be very pretty. After dinner to the hanging up of maps, and other things for the fitting of the roome, and now it will certainly be one [of] the handsomest and most usefull roomes in my house. At night spent a good deale of time with my wife and Mercer teaching them a song and so after supper to bed.

28th. My wife to her father's, to carry him some ruling work,¹ which I have advised her to let him do. It will get him some money. She was also to look a necklace of pearle, which she is mighty busy about, I being contented to lay out 80*l.* in one for her. I home to my business. By and by comes my wife and presently after, the tide serving, Balty took leave of us, going to sea, and upon very good terms, to be Muster-Master of a squadron, which will be worth 100*l.* this yeare to him, besides keeping him the benefit of his pay in the Guards. He gone, I very busy all the afternoon till night, among other things, writing a letter to my brother John, the first I have done since my being angry with him, and that so sharpe a one too that I was sorry almost to send it

¹ For the making books of accounts for pursers. See March 2nd, 1665-66. (M. B.)

when I had wrote it, but it is preparatory to my being kind to him, and sending for him up hither when he has past his degree of Master of Arts. So home to supper and to bed.

29th (Lord's day). Up, and to church, where Mr. Mills, a lazy, simple sermon upon the Devil's having no right to any thing in this world. After dinner I and my boy down by water to Redriffe and thence walked to Mr. Evelyn's, where I walked in his garden till he came from Church, with great pleasure reading Ridly's¹ discourse, all my way going and coming, upon the Civill and Ecclesiastical Law. He being come home, he and I walked together in the garden with mighty pleasure, he being a very ingenious man ; and the more I know him, the more I love him. His chief business with me was to propose having my cozen Thomas PEPYS in Commission of the Peace, which I do not know what to say to till I speake with him, but should be glad of it and will put him upon it. Thence walked back again reading and so took water and home, where I find my uncle and aunt Wight, and supped with them upon my leads with mighty pleasure and mirthe, and they being gone I mighty weary to bed, after having my haire of my head cut shorter, even close to my skull, for coolnesse, it being mighty hot weather.

30th. Up, and to finish my journall for four days

¹ Sir Thomas Ridley, a native of Ely. He was a Master in Chancery, and author of "A View of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Law." He died 1696. (M. B.)

past. To the office, where busy all the morning. At noon dined alone, my wife gone abroad to conclude about her necklace of pearle. I after dinner to even all my accounts of this month; and, bless God! I find myself, notwithstanding great expences of late; viz. 80*l.* now to pay for a necklace; near 40*l.* for a set of chairs and couch; near 40*l.* for my three pictures: yet I do gather, and am now worth 5,200*l.* My wife comes home by and by, and hath pitched upon a necklace with three rows, which is a very good one, and 80*l.* is the price. In the evening with my wife and Mercer by coach to take the ayre as far as Bow and eat and drank in the coach by the way and with much pleasure and pleased with my company. At night home and up to the leads, but were contrary to expectation driven down again with a stinke by Sir W. Pen's shying of a vessel close by, which do trouble me for fear it do hereafter annoy me. So down to sing a little and then to bed. So ends this month with great layings-out. Good health and gettings, and advanced well in the whole of my estate, for which God make me thankful!

May 1st. At noon, my cozen Thomas Pepys did come to me, to consult about the business of his being a Justice of the Peace, which he is much against; and among other reasons, tells me, as a confidant, that he is not free to exercise punishment according to the Act against Quakers and other people, for religion. Nor do he understand Latin, and so is not capable of the place as formerly, now all warrants do run in

Latin. Nor is he in Kent, though he be of Deptford parish, his house¹ standing in Surry. However, I did bring him to incline towards it, if he be pressed to take it. I do think it may be some repute to me to have my kinsman in Commission there, specially if he behave himself to content in the country. By water to Redriffe, reading a new French book my Lord Brouncker did give me to-day, "*L'Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules*,"² being a pretty libel against the amours of the Court of France. I walked up and down Deptford yarde, where I had not been since I came from living at Greenwich. There I met with Mr. Castle, and we walked and drank at Halfway house and so to his house where I drank a cupp of syder and so home where my wife tells me the ill newes, that our Susan is sicke and gone to bed, with great pain in her head and back, which troubles us all.

and. To White Hall by coach. There attended the Duke as usual. Thence with Captain Cocke to my office, to consult about serving him in getting him some money, he being already tired of his slavery to my Lord Brouncker, and the charge it costs him, and gets no manner of courtesy from him for it.

¹ Hatcham, near New Cross, on the Deptford road. A house there still preserves the name.

² This book consisted of a series of lampoons and satirical portraits by the Comte de Bussy-Rabutin, cousin to Madame de Sévigné. A copy of it was printed in Holland, with alterations and additions. One of the spurious passages reflected on Louis XIV., and in consequence De Bussy was imprisoned in the Bastille for thirteen months. (M. B.)

3rd. Up, and all the morning at the office. At noon home and contrary to my expectation find my little girle Su worse than she was, which troubled me, and the more to see my wife minding her paynting and not thinking of her house business, this being the first day of her beginning the second time to paynt. This together made me froward that I was angry with my wife and would not have Browne to think to dine at my table with me always, being desirous to have my house to myself without a stranger and a mechanic to be privy to all my concernments. Upon this my wife and I had a little disagreement, but it ended by and by, and then to send up and down for a nurse to take the girle home and would have given anything. I offered to the only one that we could get 20s. per weeke, and we to find clothes, and bedding and physique, and would have given 30s., as demanded, but desired an houre or two's time. Sent for the girle's mother; she came and undertakes to get her daughter a lodging and nurse at next doore to her, though she dare not, for the parish's sake, whose sexton her husband is, to have her into her owne house. Thence home, calling at my bookseller's and other trifling places, and in the evening the mother came and with a nurse she has got, who demanded and I did agree at 10s. per weeke to take her, and so she away, and my house mighty uncouth, having so few in it.

4th. To Mr. Hales, to see what he had done to Mrs. Pierce's picture, and whatever he pretends, I do not think it will ever be so good a picture as my

wife's. To the office a little and then home to dinner, and had a great fray with my wife again about Browne's coming to teach her to paynt, and sitting with me at table, which I will not yield to. I do thoroughly believe she means no hurte in it; but very angry we were, and I resolved all into my having my will done, without disputing, be the reason what it will; and so I will have it. After dinner to the New Exchange and thence home, and my wife coming home by and by (having been at her mother's to pray her to look out for a mayde for her) by coach into the fields to Bow and so back in the evening. This evening, being weary of my late idle courses, and the little good I shall do the King or myself in the office, I bound myself to very strict rules till Whitsunday next.

5th. At the office all the morning. After dinner upon a letter from the fleete from Sir W. Coventry I did do a great deale of worke for the sending away of the victuallers that are in the river. About 11 I home, it being a fine moonshine and with my content my wife and Mercer came into the garden, and, my business being done, we sang till about twelve at night, with mighty pleasure to ourselves and neighbours, by their casements opening, and so to supper and to bed.

6th (Lord's day). To church. After dinner busy till night in fitting my Victualling papers, which I through my multitude of business and pleasure have not examined these several months.

7th. Up betimes to set my Victualling papers in order against Sir W. Coventry comes, which indeed

makes me very melancholy, being conscious that I am much to seeke in giving a good answer to his queries about the Victualling business. At the office mighty busy and brought myself into a pretty plausible condition before Sir W. Coventry came and did give him a pretty tolerable account of every thing and went with him into the Victualling office, where we sat and examined his businesses and state of the victualling of the fleete, which made me 'in my heart blushe that I could say no more to it than I did or could. But I trust in God I shall never be in that condition again. We parted, and I with pretty good grace, and so home to dinner, my sister-in-law with us, who I find more and more a witty woman; and then I to my Lord Treasurer's and the Exchequer about my Tangier businesses, and so passed by all things and persons without so much as desiring any stay or losse of time with them, being by strong vowe obliged on no occasion to stay abroad but my publique offices. So home again and so to the office, where busy till late at night and so weary and a little conscious of my failures to-day, yet proud that the day is over without more observation on Sir W. Coventry's part and so to bed and to sleepe soundly.

8th. To the office all the morning. After dinner to the office again and thither comes Mr. Downing, the anchor-smith, who had given me 50 pieces in gold the last month, to speake for him to Sir W. Coventry, for his being smith at Deptford; but after I had got it granted to him, he finds himself not fit to go on

with it, so lets it fall. I therefore in honour and conscience took him home, and, though much to my grief, did yet willingly and forcibly force him to take the money again, and glad to have given him so much cause to speake well of me. So to my office again late and then home to supper to a good lobster with my wife.

9th. Up by five o'clock and down the river by water to Deptford, among other things to examine the state of Ironwork, in order to the doing something with reference to Downing that may induce him to returne me the 50 pieces. Walked back again reading of my Civill Law Book and so to White Hall, and heard the Duke commend Deane's ship "The Rupert" before "The Defyance," built lately by Castle, in hearing of Sir W. Batten, which pleased me mightily. So away to my Lord Treasurer's, and thence to Pierce's, where I find Knipp. Thence with them to Cornhill to call and choose a chimney-piece for Pierce's closett, and so home where my wife in mighty pain and mightily vexed at my being abroad with these women; and when they were gone called them strumpetts, and I know not what, which vexed me, having been so innocent with them. So I with them to Mrs. Turner's and there sat with them a while, anon my wife sends for me, I come, and what was it but to scold at me and she would go abroad to take the ayre presently, that she would. So I left my company and went with her to Bow, but was vexed and spoke not one word to her all the way going nor coming, or being come

home, but went up straight to bed. Half an hour after (she in the coach leaning on me as being desirous to be friends) she comes up mighty sicke with a fit of the cholique and in mighty pain and calls for me ; out of the bed I rose and held her, she prays me to forgive her, and in mighty pain we put her to bed, where the pain ceased by and by, and so had some asparagus to our bed side for supper and very kindly afterward to sleepe and good friends in the morning.

10th. So up, and to the office. At noon home to dinner and there busy till past six o'clock, and then abroad with my wife by coach, who is now at great ease, her cheeke being broke inward. We took with us Mrs. Turner. A great deale of tittle tattle discourse to little purpose, I finding her, though in other things a very discreete woman, as very a gossip speaking of her neighbours as any body. Going out towards Hackney by coach for the ayre, the silly coachman carries us to Shoreditch, which was so pleasant a piece of simplicity in him and us, that made us mighty merry. So back again late, it being wondrous hot all the day and night and it lightning exceeding all the way we went and came but without thunder. Coming home we called at a little ale-house, and had an eele pye, of which my wife eat part and brought home the rest.

11th. Up betimes, and then away with Mr. Yeabsly to my Lord Ashly's, whither by and by comes Sir H. Cholmly and Creed and then to my Lord, and there entered into examination of Mr. Yeabsly's accounts,

wherein as in all other things I find him one of the most distinct men that ever I did see in my life. He raised many scruples which were to be answered another day and so parted, giving me an alarme how to provide myself against the day of my passing my accounts. So to the 'Change, to speake with Captain Cocke, among other things about getting of the silver plates¹ of him, which he promises to do; but in discourse he tells me that I should beware of my fellow-officers; and by name told me that my Lord Brouncker should say in his hearing, before Sir W. Batten, of me, that he could undo the man, if he would; wherein I think he is a foole; but, however, it is requisite I be prepared against the man's friendship. Thence home to dinner alone, my wife being abroad. After dinner to the setting some things in order in my dining-room; and by and by comes my wife home and Mrs. Pierce with her, so I lost most of this afternoon with them, and in the evening abroad with them, our long tour by coach, to Hackney, so to Kingsland, and then to Islington, there entertaining them by candle-light very well, and so home with her, set her down, and so home and to bed.

12th. Up to the office very betimes to draw up a letter for the Duke of York relating to him the badness of our condition in this office for want of money. That being in good time done we met at the office and there sat all the morning. At noon home, where

¹ See 5th April, 1666. (M. B.)

I find my wife troubled still at my checking her last night in the coach in her long stories out of Grand Cyrus,¹ which she would tell, though nothing to the purpose, nor in any good manner. This she took unkindly, and I think I was to blame indeed; but she do find with reason, that in the company of Pierce, Knipp, or other women that I love, I do not value her, or mind her as I ought. However very good friends by and by. In the evening to White Hall about business and among other things met Sir G. Downing on White Hall bridge, and there walked half an hour, talking of the success of the late new Act; and indeed it is very much, that that hath stood really in the room of 800,000*l.*² now since Christmas, being itself but 1,250,000*l.* And so I do really take it to be a very considerable thing done by him; for the beginning, end, and every part of it, is to be imputed to him. This day came home again my girle Susan, her sicknesse proving an ague, and she had a fit soon almost as she came home. The fleete is not yet gone

¹ Sir Walter Scott observes in his "Life of Dryden," that the romances of Calprenede and Scudéri, those ponderous and unmerciful folios, now consigned to oblivion, were in their day not only universally read and admired, but supposed to furnish the most perfect models of gallantry and heroism. Dr. Johnson read them all. "I have," says Mrs. Chapone, "and yet I am still alive, dragged through 'Le Grand Cyrus,' in twelve huge volumes; 'Cleopatra,' in eight or ten; 'Ibrahim,' 'Clelie,' and some others whose names, as well as all the rest of them, I have forgotten." — *Letters to Mrs. Carter*. No wonder that Pepys sat on thorns, when his wife began to recite "Le Grand Cyrus" in the coach, "and trembled at the impending tale."

² There appears to be some error in these figures. Pepys's financial details are in fact seldom to be relied upon.

from the Nore. The plague encreases in many places, and is 53 this week with us.

13th (Lord's day). Up, and walked to White Hall, where we all met to present a letter to the Duke of York, complaining solemnly of the want of money, and that being done, I to and again up and down Westminster, thinking to have spent a little time with Sarah at the Swan, or Mrs. Martin, but was disappointed in both, so walked the greatest part of the way home, where comes Mr. Symons, my old acquaintance, to dine with me, and I made myself as good company as I could to him, but he was mighty impertinent methought too yet, and thereby I see the difference between myself now and what it was heretofore, when I reckoned him a very brave fellow. After dinner he and I walked together as far as Cheapside, and I quite through to Westminster again, and fell by chance into St. Margett's¹ Church, where I heard a young man play the foole upon the doctrine of purgatory. At this church I spied Betty Howlett, who indeed is mighty pretty, and struck me mightily. After church time, standing in the Church yarde, she spied me, so I went to her, her father and mother and husband being with her. They desired and I agreed to go home with Mr. Michell, and there had the opportunity to have saluted two or three times Betty and make an acquaintance which they are pleased with, though not so much as I am or they

¹ St. Margaret's.

think I am. I staid here an houre or more chatting with them in a little sorry garden of theirs by the Bowling Alley, and so left them and I by water home, and there was in great pain in mind lest Sir W. Pen, who is going down to the Fleete, should come to me or send for me to be informed in the state of things, and particularly the Victualling, that by my pains he might seem wise. So after spending an houre with my wife pleasantly in her closett, I to bed even by daylight.

14th. Comes betimes a letter from Sir W. Coventry, that he and Sir G. Carteret are ordered presently down to the Fleete. I up and saw Sir W. Pen gone also after them, and so I finding it a leisure day fell to making cleane my closett in my office, which I did to my content and set up my Platts again, being much taken also with Griffin's mayde, that did cleane it, being a pretty mayde. I left her at it, and toward Westminster myself with my wife by coach and meeting took up Mr. Lovett the varnisher with us, who is a pleasant speaking and humoured man, so my wife much taken with him, and a good deale of worke I believe I shall procure him. I left my wife at the new Exchange and myself to the Exchequer, to looke after my Tangier tallys, and there met Sir G. Downing, who shewed me his present practise now begun this day to paste up upon the Exchequer doors a note of what orders upon the new Act are paid and now in paying, and my Lord of Oxford coming by, also took him, and shewed him his whole method of keeping

his books, and everything of it which indeed is very pretty, and at this day there is assigned upon the Act 804,000*l*. Thence at the New Exchange took up my wife again, and so home to dinner, and after dinner to my office again to set things in order. In the evening out with my wife and my aunt Wight, to take the ayre, and happened to have a pleasant race between our hackney-coach and a gentleman's. At Bow we eat and drank and so back again. Having set home my aunt and come home, I fell to examine my wife's kitchen book, and found 20*s*. mistake, which made me mighty angry and great difference between us, and so in the difference to bed.

15th. Up and to the office. After dinner by coach to Sir Philip Warwick, he having sent for me, but was not within, so I to my Lord Crew's, who is very lately come to towne, and with him talking half an houre of the business of the warr, wherein he is very doubtful, from our want of money, that we shall fail. And I do concur with him therein. After some little discourse of ordinary matters, I away to Sir Philip Warwick's again, and he was come in, and gone out to my Lord Treasurer's; whither I followed him, and there my business was, to be told that my Lord Treasurer hath got 10,000*l*. for us in the Navy, to answer our great necessities, which I did thank him for; but the sum is not considerable. So home, and there busy all the afternoon till night, and then to supper and to bed.

16th. Up very betimes, and so down the river to

Deptford to look after some business, being by and by to attend the Duke and Mr. Coventry, and so I was willing to carry something fresh that I may look as a man minding business, which I have done too much for a great while to forfeit, and is now so great a burden upon my mind night and day that I do not enjoy myself in the world almost. I walked thither, and came back again by water, and so to White Hall, and did our usual business before the Duke, and so to the Exchequer, where the lazy rogues have not yet done my tallys, which vexes me. Thence to Mr. Hales, and paid him for my picture, and Mr. Hill's, for the first 14*l.* for the picture, and 25*s.* for the frame, and for the other 7*l.* for the picture, it being a copy of his only, and 5*s.* for the frame; in all, 22*l.* 10*s.* I am very well satisfied in my pictures, and so took them in another coach home along with me, and there with great pleasure my wife and I hung them up, and, that being done, to dinner, where Mrs. Barbara Sheldon came to see us and dined with us, and we kept her all the day with us, I going down to Deptford. I walked both going and coming, spending my time reading of my Civill and Ecclesiastical Law book. Being returned home, I took my wife and Mrs. Barbara and Mercer out by coach, and went our Grand Tour, and baited at Islington, and so late home about 11 at night, and so with much pleasure to bed.

17th. To the office, where all the morning with fresh occasion of vexing at myself for my late neglect of business, by which I cannot appear half so usefull

as I used to do. Home at noon to dinner, and then to my office again, where I could not hold my eyes open for an houre, but I drowsed (so little sensible I apprehend my soul is of the necessity of minding business), but I anon wakened and minded my business, and did a great deale with very great pleasure, and so home at night to supper and to bed, mightily pleased with myself for the business that I have done, and convinced that if I would but keepe constantly to do the same I might have leisure enough and yet do all my business, and by the grace of God so I will.

18th. Up by 5 o'clock, and so down by water to Deptford and Blackwall to dispatch some business. So walked to Dikeshoare,¹ and there took boat again and home, and thence to Westminster, and attended all the morning on the Exchequer for a quarter's tallys for Tangier. But, Lord! to see what a dull, heavy sort of people they are there would make a man mad. At noon had them and carried them home, and there dined with great content with my people, and within and at the office all the afternoon and night, and so home to settle some papers there, and so to bed, being not very well, having eaten too much lobster at noon at dinner with Mr. Holliard, he coming in and commending it so much.

19th. Up, and to the office all the morning. At noon took Mr. Deane (lately come to towne) home with me to dinner, and there after giving him some

¹ See note, 15th Jan., 1660-61. (M. B.)

reprimands and good advice about his deportment in the place where by my interest he is at Harwich, and then declaring my resolution of being his friend still, we did then fall to discourse about his ship "Rupert," built by him there, which succeeds so well as he hath got great honour by it, and I some by recommending him; the King, Duke, and every body saying it is the best ship that was ever built. And then he fell to explain to me his manner of casting the draught of water which a ship will draw before-hand: which is a secret the King and all admire in him; and he is the first that hath come to any certainty before-hand, of foretelling the draught of water of a ship before she be launched. I must confess I am much pleased in his successes in this business, and do admire at the confidence of Castle who did undervalue the draught Deane sent up to me, that I was ashamed to owne it or him, Castle asking of me upon the first sight of it whether he that laid it down had ever built a ship or no, which made me the more doubtfull of him. He being gone, I to the office, where much business and many persons to speake with me. Late home and to bed, glad to be at a little quiett.

20th (Lord's day). With my wife to church. At noon dined mighty nobly, ourselves alone. After dinner my wife and Mercer by coach to Greenwich, to be gossip to Mrs. Daniels's child. I away to Westminster Abbey, and there fell in discourse with Mr. Blagrove, whom I find a sober politique man, that gets me an increase of plays, and thence by coach home

after I had discoursed awhile with Mr. Yeabsly, whom I met and took up in my coach with me, and who hath this day presented my Lord Ashly with 100*l.* to bespeak his friendship to him in his accounts now before us; and my Lord hath received it, and so I believe is as bad, as to bribes, as what the world says of him. Then calling on all the Victualling ships to know what they had of their complements, and so to Deptford, to enquire after a little business there, and thence by water back again, all the way coming and going reading my Lord Bacon's "*Faber Fortunæ*," which I can never read too often, and so back home, and there find my wife come home, much pleased with the reception she had, and she was godmother, and did hold the child at the Font, and it is called John.

21st. Up between 4 and 5 o'clock and to set several papers to rights, and so to the office, where we had an extraordinary meeting. But, Lord! how it torments me to find myself so unable to give an account of my Victualling business, which puts me out of heart in every thing else, so that I never had a greater shame upon me in my own mind, nor more trouble as to publique business than I have now, but I will get out of it as soon as possibly I can. At noon dined at home, and after dinner comes in my wife's brother Balty and his wife, he being stepped ashore from the fleete for a day or two. I away in some haste to my Lord Ashly, where it is stupendous to see how favourably, and yet closely, my Lord Ash-

ly carries himself to Mr. Yeabsly, in his business, so as I think we shall do his business for him in very good manner. But it is a most extraordinary thing to observe, and that which I would not but have had the observation of for a great deal of money. So to Westminster Hall a little about business and so home by water, and then out with my wife, her brother, sister, and Mercer to Islington, our grand tour, and there eat and drank. But in discourse I am infinitely pleased with Balty, his deportment in his business of Muster-Master, and hope mighty well from him, and am glad with all my heart I put him into this business. Late home and so to bed.

23rd. Up by 5 o'clock and to my chamber settling several matters in order, and so towards White Hall, calling in my way on my Lord Bellassis,¹ where I came to his bedside, and he did give me a full and long account of his matters, how he left them at Tangier. Declares himself fully satisfied with my care: seems cunningly to argue for encreasing the number of men there. Told me the whole story of his gains by the Turkey prizes, which he owns he hath got about 5,000*l.* by. Promised me the same profits Povy was to have had; and in fine, I find him a pretty subtle man; and so I left him. I to White Hall before the

¹ John Lord Bellassis, second son of Thomas, Viscount Falconberg, an officer of distinction on the King's side during the Civil War. He was afterwards Governor of Tangier, and Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners. Being a Catholic, the Test Act deprived him of all his appointments in 1672; but James II., in 1684, made him first Commissioner of the Treasury. Ob. 1689.

Duke and did our usual business. Thence to Westminster to look after getting some little for some great tallys, but shall find trouble in it. Hence homeward and met with Sir Philip Warwick, and spoke about this, in which he is scrupulous. After that of the wants of the Navy. He lays all the fault now upon the new Act, and owns his owne folly in thinking once so well of it as to give way to others' endeavours about it, and is grieved at heart to see what passe things are like to come to. Thence to the Excise Office to the Commissioners to get a meeting between them and myself and others about our concernments in the Excise for Tangier, and so to the 'Change awhile and thence home. After dinner I to White Hall and there staid at Sir G. Carteret's chamber till the Council rose, and then he and I, by agreement this morning, went forth in his coach by Tiburne, to the Parke; discoursing of the state of the Navy as to money, and the state of the Kingdom too, how ill able to raise more: and of our office as to the condition of the officers; he giving me caution as to myself, that there are those that are my enemies too as well as his, and by name my Lord Brouncker who hath said some odd speeches against me. So that he advises me to stand on my guard; which I shall do, and unless my too-much addiction to pleasure undo me, will be acute enough for any of them. We rode to and again in the Parke a good while, and at last home and set me down at Charing Crosse. Home to supper and to bed having my right eye sore and full of humour of

late, I think, by my late change of my brewer, and having of 8s. beer.

24th. To the office. At noon rose in the pleasantest humour I have seen Sir W. Coventry and the whole board in this 12 months from a pleasant crossing humour Sir W. Batten was in, he being hungry, and desirous to be gone. Mr. Shepley is newly come out of the country and came to see us, whom I am glad to see. He left all well there; but I perceive under some discontent in my Lord's behalfe, thinking that he is under disgrace with the King; but he is not so at all, as Sir G. Carteret assures me. I to the office and did business, and so in the evening abroad with my wife to Kingsland and so back again and to bed, my right eye continuing very ill of the rheum, which has troubled it 4 or 5 days.

25th. Out to the Exchange to speake with Captain Cocke, who tells me that my silver plates are ready for me, and shall be sent me speedily; and proposes another proposition of serving us with a thousand tons of hempe, and tells me it shall bring me 500*l.*, if the bargain go forward, which is a good word. Thence to Sir G. Carteret and to dinner with him, a good dinner. Here came a gentleman over from France arrived here this day, Mr. Brown of St. Maloes, who, among other things, tells me the meaning of the setting out of doggs every night out of the towne walls, which are said to secure the city; but it is not so, but only to secure the anchors, cables, and ships that lie dry, which might otherwise in the night be liable

to be robbed. And these doggs are set out every night, and called together in every morning by a man with a horne, and they go in very orderly. Thence home, and there find Knipp at dinner with my wife. But my head was full of business and so could have no sport. So I left them, promising to return and take them out at night, and so to the Excise Office where a meeting was appointed of Sir Stephen Fox, the Cofferer, and myself, to settle the business of our tallys, and it was so pretty well against another meeting. Thence away home to the office and out again to Captain Cocke, and there he and I discoursed a little more of our matters, and so home, and (Knipp being gone) took out my wife and Mercer to take the ayre a little, and so as far as Hackney and back again, and then to bed.

27th (Lord's day). Rose betimes, and to my office till church time to write two copies of my Will fair, bearing date this day, wherein I have given my sister Pall 500*l.*, my father for his owne and my mother's support 2,000*l.*, to my wife the rest of my estate, but to have 2,500*l.* secured to her though by deducting out of what I have given my father and my sister. I dispatched all before church time and then to church, my wife with me. Thence home to dinner, whither came my uncle Wight, and aunt and uncle Norbury, and Mr. Shepley. A good dinner and very merry. After dinner we broke up and with my wife by and by by water as low as Greenwich, for ayre only, and so back again home to supper and to bed with great pleasure.

28th. Mr. Lovett and his wife came to see us. They are a pretty couple, and she a fine bred woman. They dined with us, and Browne, the paynter, and she plays finely on the lute. My wife and I were well pleased with her company. After dinner broke up, I to the office and they abroad. All the afternoon busy, and down by water to Deptford. Walked back to Redriffe, and so home, being thoughtfull how to answer Sir W. Coventry against to-morrow in the business of the Victualling. So to bed, my wife telling me where she hath been to-day with my aunt Wight, and seen Mrs. Margaret Wight, and says that she is one of the beautifullest women that ever she saw in her life, the most excellent nose and mouth. They have been also to see pretty Mrs. Batelier, and conclude her to be a prettier woman than Mrs. Pierce, whom my wife led my aunt to see also this day.

29th (King's birth-day and Restoration day). Waked with the ringing of the bells all over the towne ; so up before five o'clock, and to the office, where we met, and I all the morning with great trouble upon my spirit to think how I should come off in the afternoon when Mr. Coventry did go to the Victualling office to see the state of matters there, and methinks by his doing of it without speaking to me, and only with Sir W. Pen, it must be of design to find out my negligence. However, at noon I did, upon a small invitation of Sir W. Pen's, go and dine with Sir W. Coventry at his office, where great good cheer and many pleasant stories of Sir W. Coventry ; but I had no pleasure

in them. However, I had last night and this morning made myself a little able to report how matters were, and did readily go with them after dinner to the Victualling office : and there, beyond belief, did acquit myself very well to full content ; so that, beyond expectation, I got over this second rub in this business ; and if ever I fall on it again, I deserve to be undone. Being broke up there, I with a merry heart home to my office, and thither my wife comes to me, to tell me, that if I would see the handsomest woman in England, I shall come home presently ; and who should it be but the pretty lady of our parish, that did heretofore sit on the other side of our church, over against our gallery, that is since married ; she with Mrs. Anne Jones, one of this parish, that dances finely. So I home and there find Creed also come to me. So there I spent most of the afternoon with them, and indeed she is a pretty black woman, her name Mrs. Horsely. But, Lord ! to see how my nature could not refrain from the temptation ; but I must invite them to Foxhall, to Spring Gardens, though I had freshly received minutes of a great deale of extraordinary business. However I could not helpe it, but sent them before with Creed, and I did some of my business ; and so after them, and find them there, in an arbour, and had met with Mrs. Pierce, and some company with her. So here I spent 20s. upon them, and were pretty merry. Among other things, had a fellow that imitated all manner of birds, and doggs, and hogs, with his voice, which was mighty pleasant. Staid

here till night: then set Mrs. Pierce in at the New Exchange; and ourselves took coach, and so set Mrs. Horsely home, and then home ourselves, but with great trouble in the streets by bonfires, it being the King's birth-day and day of Restoration; but, Lord! to see the difference how many there were on the other side, and so few ours, the City side of the Temple, would make one wonder the difference between the temper of one sort of people and the other: and the difference among all between what they do now, and what it was the night when Monk came into the City. Such a night as that I never think to see again, nor think it can be.

30th. To White Hall to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, where I find the Duke gone out with the King to-day on hunting. So after some discourse with him, I by water to Westminster, and there drew a draught of an order for my Lord Treasurer to sign for my having some little tallies made me in lieu of two great ones, of 2,000*l.* each, to enable me to pay small sums therewith. So home to my office, and there did business. By and by toward noon word is brought me that my father and my sister are come. I to them, and am heartily glad to see them, especially my father, who, poor man, looks very well, and hath rode up this journey on horseback very well, only his eyesight and hearing is very bad. I staid and dined with them, my wife being gone by coach to Barnett, with W. Hewer and Mercer, to meet them, and they did come Ware way. After dinner I left them to dress them-

selves and I abroad by appointment to my Lord Ashly, who, it is strange to see, how prettily he dissembles his favour to Yeabsly's business, which none in the world could mistrust only I, that am privy to his being bribed. So I to my Lord Treasurer's and got my warrant. So home and did a little business at the office and so down by water to Deptford and back again home late, and having signed some papers and given order in business, home, where my wife is come home, and so to supper with my father, and mighty pleasant we were, and my wife mighty kind to him and Pall, and so after supper to bed. To-night my wife tells me newes has been brought her that Balty's wife is brought to bed, by some fall or fit, before her time, of a great child but dead. If the woman do well we have no reason to be sorry, because his staying a little longer without a child will be better for him and her.

31st. Late up, and so saw all my family up, and my father and sister, who is a pretty good-bodied woman, and not over thicke, as I thought she would have been, but full of freckles, and not handsome in face. And so I out by water among the ships about business, and so home and to dinner with my father and sister and family, mighty pleasant all of us; and, among other things, with a sparrow that our Mercer hath brought up now for three weeks, which is so tame, that it flies up and down, and upon the table, and eats and pecks, and do every thing so pleasantly, that we are mightily pleased with it. After dinner I to my

papers and accounts of this month to sett all straight, it being a publique Fast-day appointed to pray for the good successe of the fleete. But it is a pretty thing to consider how little a matter they make of this keeping of a Fast, that it was not so much as declared time enough to be read in the churches, the last Sunday; but ordered by proclamation since: I suppose upon some sudden newes of the Dutch being come out. To my accounts and settled them clear; but to my grief find myself poorer than I was the last by near 20*l.*, by reason of my being forced to return 50*l.* to Downing, the smith, which he had presented me with. However, I am well contented, finding myself yet to be worth 5,200*l.* Thus ends this month, with my mind oppressed by my defect in my duty of the Victualling, which lies upon me as a burden, till I get myself into a better posture therein, and hinders me and casts down my courage in every thing else that belongs to me, and the jealousy I have of Sir W. Coventry's being displeased with me about it; but I hope in a little time to remedy all. As to publique business; by late tidings of the French fleete being come to Rochelle (how true, though, I know not) our fleete is divided: Prince Rupert being gone with about thirty ships to the Westward as is conceived to meet the French, to hinder their coming to join with the Dutch. My Lord Duke of Albemarle lies in the Downes with the rest, and intends presently to sail to the Gunfleete.

June 1st. At noon I and my father, wife and sister

dined at Aunt Wight's here hard by at Dr. Woolly's. Here dined the faire Mrs. Margaret Wight, who is a very fine lady, but the cast of her eye, got only by an ill habit, do her much wrong and her hands are bad ; but she hath the face of a noble Roman lady. After dinner my uncle and Woolly and I out into their yarde, to talke about what may be done hereafter to all our profits by prize-goods, which did give us reason to lament the losse of the opportunity of the last yeare, which, if we were as wise as we are now, and at the peaceable end of all those troubles that we met with, all might have been such a hit as will never come again in this age, and so I do really believe it. Thence home to my office and there did much business and at night home to my father to supper and to bed.

2nd. Up, and to the office, where certain newes is brought us of a letter come to the King this morning from the Duke of Albemarle, dated yesterday at eleven o'clock, as they were sailing to the Gunfleete, that they were in sight of the Dutch fleete, and were fitting themselves to fight them ; so that they are, ere this, certainly engaged ; besides, several do averr they heard the guns all yesterday in the afternoon. This put us at the Board into a tosse. Presently come orders for our sending away to the fleete a recruite of 200 soldiers. So I rose from the table, and to the Victualling-office, and thence upon the River among several vessels, to consider of the sending them away ; and lastly, down to Greenwich, and there appointed two yachts to be

ready for them ; and did order the soldiers to march to Blackewall. Having set all things in order against the next flood, I went on shore with Captain Erwin at Greenwich, and into the Parke, and there we could hear the guns from the fleete most plainly. Thence he and I to the King's Head and there bespoke a dish of steaks for our dinner about four o'clock. While that was doing, we walked to the water-side, and there seeing the King and Duke come down in their barge to Greenwich-house, I to them, and did give them an account what I was doing. They went up to the Parke to hear the guns of the fleete go off. All our hopes now are that Prince Rupert with his fleete is coming back and will be with the fleete this even : a message being sent to him to that purpose on Wednesday last ; and a return is come from him this morning, that he did intend to sail from St. Ellen's point about four in the afternoon on Wednesday, which was yesterday ; which gives us great hopes, the wind being very fair, that he is with them this even, and the fresh going off of the guns makes us believe the same. Down to Blackewall, and there saw the soldiers (who were by this time gotten most of them drunk) shipped off. But, Lord ! to see how the poor fellows kissed their wives and sweethearts in that simple manner at their going off, and shouted, and let off their guns, was strange sport. In the evening came up the River the Katharine yacht, Captain Fazeby, who hath brought over my Lord of Alesbury¹ and Sir Thomas Lid-

¹ Robert Bruce, created Earl of Aylesbury, 1663. Ob. 1685.

dall¹ (with a very pretty daughter, and in a pretty travelling-dress) from Flanders, who saw the Dutch fleet on Thursday, and ran from them; but from that hour to this hath not heard one gun, nor any newes of any fight. Having put the soldiers on board, I home and to bed, it being very late.

3rd (Lord's-day; Whit-sunday). Up, and by water to White Hall, and there met with Mr. Coventry, who tells me the only news from the fleet is brought by Captain Elliott, of the Portland, which, by being run on board by the Guernsey, was disabled from staying abroad; so is come in to Aldbrough. That he saw one of the Dutch great ships blown up, and three on fire. That they begun to fight on Friday; and at his coming into port, he could make another ship of the King's coming in, which he judged to be the Rupert: that he knows of no other hurt to our ships. With this good newes I home by water again, and to church in the sermon-time, and with great joy told it my fellows in the pew. So home to dinner and after dinner my father, wife, sister, and Mercer by water to Woolwich, while I walked by land, and saw the Exchange as full of people, and hath been all this noon as of any other day, only for newes. To White Hall, and there met with this bad newes farther, that the Prince came to Dover but at ten o'clock last night, and there heard nothing of a fight; so that we are defeated of all our hopes of his helpe to the fleet. It is also

¹ Of Ravensworth Castle, Durham, succeeded his grandfather, the first Baronet, 1650. He had three daughters. Ob. 1697.

reported by some Victuallers that the Duke of Albe-
marle and Holmes¹ their flags were shot down, and
both fain to come to anchor to renew their rigging
and sails. A letter is also come this afternoon, from
Harman in the Henery; which is she was taken by
Elliott for the Rupert; that being fallen into the body
of the Dutch fleete, he made his way through them,
was set on by three fire-ships one after another, got
two of them off, and disabled the third; was set on
fire himself; upon which many of his men leapt into
the sea and perished; among others, the parson first.
Have lost above 100 men, and a good many women
(God knows what is become of Balty)² and at last
quenched his own fire and got to Aldbrough; being,
as all say, the greatest hazard that ever any ship es-
caped, and so bravely managed by him. The mast
of the third fire-ship fell into their ship on fire, and
hurt Harman's leg, which makes him lame now, but
not dangerous. I to Sir G. Carteret, who told me
there hath been great bad management in all this;
that the King's orders that went on Friday for calling
back the Prince, were sent but by the ordinary post on
Wednesday; and came to the Prince his hands but
on Friday; and then, instead of sailing presently, he
stays till four in the evening. And that which is worst
of all, the Hampshire, laden with merchants' money,

¹ Sir Robert Holmes.

² Balthazar St. Michel, Mrs. Pepys's brother, employed in the office for
sick and hurt, at Deal, afterwards, and in 1686 Commissioner at Woolwich
and Deptford.

come from the Straights, set out with or but just before the fleete, and was in the Downes by five in the clock yesterday morning ; and the Prince with his fleete came to Dover but at ten of the clock at night. This is hard to answer, if it be true. This puts great astonishment into the King, and Duke, and Court, every body being out of countenance. So meeting Creed, he and I by coach to Hide Parke alone to talke of these things and do blesse God that my Lord Sandwich was not here at this time to be concerned in a business like to be so misfortunate. It was a pleasant thing to consider how fearfull I was of being seen with Creed all this afternoon, for fear of people's thinking that by our relation to my Lord Sandwich we should be making ill construction of the Prince's failure. But, God knows, I am heartily sorry for the sake of the whole nation, though, if it were not for that, it would not be amisse to have the high blades find some checke to their presumption and their disparaging of as good men. Thence set him down in Covent Garden and so home by the 'Change, which is full of people still, and all talk highly of the failure of the Prince in not making more haste after his instructions did come, and of our managements here in not giving it sooner and with more care and oftener hence. After supper to bed.

4th. To White Hall, where, when we come, we find the Duke at St. James's, whither he is lately gone to lodge. So walking through the Parke we saw hundreds of people listening at the Gravell-pits, and to

and again in the Parke to hear the guns. I saw a letter, dated last night, from Strowd, Governor of Dover Castle, which says that the Prince came thither the night before with his fleete; but that for the guns which we writ that we heard, it is only a mistake for thunder; and so far as to yesterday it is a miraculous thing that we all Friday, and Saturday and yesterday, did hear every where most plainly the guns go off, and yet at Deale and Dover to last night they did not hear one word of a fight, nor think they heard one gun. This, added to what I have set down before the other day about the Katharine, makes room for a great dispute in philosophy, how we should hear it and they not, the same wind that brought it to us being the same that should bring it to them: but so it is. Major Halsey, however, (he was sent down on purpose to hear newes), did bring newes this morning that he did see the Prince and his fleete at nine of the clock yesterday morning, four or five leagues to sea behind the Goodwin, so that by the hearing of the guns this morning, we conclude he is come to the fleete. After wayting upon the Duke, Sir W. Pen (who was commanded to go to-night by water down to Harwich, to dispatch away all the ships he can) and I home, drinking two bottles of Cocke ale in the streete in his new fine coach, where no sooner come, but newes is brought me of a couple of men come to speak with me from the fleete; so I down, and who should it be but Mr. Daniel, all muffled up, and his face as black as the chimney, and covered with dirt,

pitch, and tarr, and powder, and muffled with dirty clouts, and his right eye stopped with okum. He is come last night at five o'clock from the fleete, with a comrade of his that hath endangered another eye. They were set on shore at Harwich this morning, and at two o'clock, in a catch with about twenty more wounded men from the Royall Charles. They being able to ride, took post about three this morning, and were here between eleven and twelve. I went presently into the coach with them, and carried them to Somerset-House-stairs, and there took water (all the world gazing upon us, and concluding it to be newes from the fleete, and every body's face appeared expecting of newes) to the Privy-stairs, and left them at Mr. Coventry's lodging (he, though, not being there); and so I into the Parke to the King, and told him my Lord Generall was well the last night at five o'clock, and the Prince come with his fleete and joyned with his about seven. The King was mightily pleased with this newes, and so took me by the hand and talked a little of it, I giving him the best account I could; and then he bid me to fetch the two seamen to him, he walking into the house. So I went and fetched the seamen into the Vane room to him, and there he heard the whole account.

THE FIGHT.

How we found the Dutch fleete at anchor on Friday half seas over, between Dunkirke and Ostend, and made them let slip their anchors. They about

ninety, and we less than sixty. We fought them, and put them to the run, till they met with about sixteen sail of fresh ships, and so bore up again. The fight continued till night, and then again the next morning from five till seven at night. And so, too, yesterday morning they begun again, and continued till about four o'clock, they chasing us for the most part of Saturday, and yesterday we flying from them. The Duke himself, and then those people who were put into the catch, by and by spied the Prince's fleete coming, upon which De Ruyter called a little council (being in chase at this time of us), and thereupon their fleete divided into two squadrons; forty in one, and about thirty in the other (the fleete being at first about ninety, but by one accident or other, supposed to be lessened to about seventy); the bigger to follow the Duke, the less to meet the Prince. But the Prince came up with the Generall's fleete, and the Dutch came together again and bore towards their own coast, and we with them; and now what the consequence of this day will be, we know not. The Duke was forced to come to anchor on Friday, having lost his sails and rigging. No particular person spoken of to be hurt but Sir W. Clerke, who hath lost his leg, and bore it bravely. The Duke himself had a little hurt in his thigh, but signified little. The King did pull out of his pocket about twenty pieces in gold, and did give it Daniel for himself and his companion; and so parted, mightily pleased with the account he did give him of the fight, and the successe it ended

with, of the Prince's coming, though it seems the Duke did give way again and again. The King did give order for care to be had of Mr. Daniel and his companion ; and so we parted from him, and then met the Duke of York, and gave him the same account : and so broke up, and I left them going to the surgeon's and I myself by water to the 'Change and to several people did give account of the business. So home about four o'clock to dinner, and was followed by several people to be told the newes and good newes it is. God send we may hear a good issue of this day's business. To the Crown, behind the 'Change, and there supped at the club with my Lord Brouncker, Sir G. Ent, and others of Gresham College ; and all our discourse is of this fight at sea, and all are doubtful of the successe, and conclude all had been lost if the Prince had not come in, they having chased us the greatest part of Saturday and Sunday. Thence with my Lord Brouncker and Creed by coach to White Hall, where fresh letters are come from Harwich, where the Gloucester, Captain Clerke, is come in, and says that on Sunday night upon coming in of the Prince, the Duke did fly ; but all this day they have been fighting ; therefore they did face again, to be sure. Captain Bacon of the Bristoll is killed. They cry up Jenings of the Ruby, and Saunders of the Sweepstakes. They condemn mightily Sir Thomas Teddiman for a coward, but with what reason time must show. Having heard all this Creed and I walked into the Parke till 9 or 10 at night, it being fine moon-

shine, discoursing of the unhappinesse of our fleete, what it would have been if the Prince had not come in, how much the Duke has failed of what he was so presumptuous of, how little we deserve of God Almighty to give us better fortune, how much this excuses all that was imputed to my Lord Sandwich, and how much more he is a man fit to be trusted with all these matters than these that now command, who act by nor with any advice, but rashly and without any order. How bad we are at intelligence that should give the Prince no sooner notice of any thing but let him come to Dover without notice of any fight, or where the fleete were, or any thing else, nor give the Duke any notice that he might depend upon the Prince's reserve; and lastly, of how good use all may be to checke our pride and presumption in adventuring upon hazards upon unequal force against a people that can fight, it seems now, as well as we, and that will not be discouraged by any losses, but that they will rise again. Thence by water home and to supper and to bed.

5th. Up, and to the office where all the morning, expecting every houre more newes of the fleete and the issue of yesterday's fight, but nothing came. At noon, though I should have dined with my Lord Mayor¹ and Aldermen at an entertainment of Commissioner Taylor's, yet it being a time of expectation of the successe of the fleete, I did not go but dined

¹ Sir Thomas Bludworth.

at home, and after dinner by water down to Deptford and Woolwich and thence down to Longreach, calling on all the ships in the way, seeing their condition for sayling, and what they want. Home about 11 of the clock and so eat a bit and to bed, having received no manner of newes this day, but of the Rainbow's being put in from the fleete, maimed as the other ships are.

6th. Up betimes, and vexed with my people for having a key taken out of the chamber doors and nobody knew where it was, as also with my boy for not being ready as soon as I, though I called him, whereupon I boxed him soundly and then to my business at the office and thence by water to St. James's, it being a monthly fast-day for the plague. There we all met, and did our business as usual with the Duke, and among other things had Captain Cocke's proposal of East country goods read, brought by my Lord Brouncker, which I make use of as a monkey do the cat's foot. Sir W. Coventry did much oppose it, and it's likely it will not do; so away goes my hopes of 500*l*. Thence after the Duke into the Parke, walking through to White Hall, and there every body listening for guns, but none heard, no guns nor no newes of our fleete. By and by walking a little further, Sir Philip Frowde¹ did meet the Duke with an expresse to Sir W. Coventry (who was by) from Captain Taylor, the Storekeeper at Harwich, being the narration of Cap-

¹ Secretary to the Duchess of York. A loyal officer in the army of Charles I. His grandson, of the same name, was author of some plays and poems, and died in 1738.

tain Hayward of the Dunkirke ; who gives a very serious account, how upon Monday the two fleetes fought all day till seven at night, and then the whole fleete of Dutch did betake themselves to a very plain flight, and never looked back again. That Sir Christopher Mings is wounded in the leg ; that the Generall is well. That it is conceived reasonably, that of all the Dutch fleete, which, with what recruits they had, come to one hundred sayle, there is not above fifty got home ; and of them, few if any of their flags. And that little Captain Bell, in one of the fire-ships, did at the end of the day fire a ship of 70 guns. We were all so overtaken with this good newes, that the Duke ran with it to the King, who was gone to chappell, and there all the Court was in a hubbub, being rejoiced over head and ears in this good newes. Away go I by coach to the new Exchange, and there did spread this good newes a little, though I find it had broke out before. And so home to our own church, it being the common Fast-day, and it was just before sermon ; but, Lord ! how all the people in the church stared upon me to see me whisper to Sir John Minnes and my Lady Pen. Anon I saw people stirring and whispering below, and by and by comes up the sexton from my Lady Ford to tell me the newes (which I had brought), being now sent into the church by Sir W. Batten in writing, and handed from pew to pew. But that which pleased me as much as the newes, was, to have the fair Mrs. Middleton at our church, who indeed is a very beautiful lady. Here after sermon

comes to our office 40 people almost of all sorts and qualities to hear the newes, which I took great delight to tell them. Then home and found my wife at dinner and after dinner my father and she out to Hales's, where my father is to begin to sit to-day for his picture, which I have a desire to have. I all the afternoon at home doing some business, and drawing up my vovues for the rest of the yeare to Christmas; but, Lord! to see in what a condition of happiness I^{am}, if I would but keepe myself so; but my love of pleasure is such, that my very soul is angry with itself for my vanity in so doing. To Lovett's and there to my trouble saw plainly that my project of varnished books will not take, it not keeping colour, not being able to take polishing upon a single paper. Thence home and my father and wife not coming in, I proceeded with my coach to take a little ayre as far as Bow all alone, and there turned back; but before I got home, the bonfires were lighted all the towne over, and I going through Crouched Friars, seeing Mercer at her mother's gate, stopped, and 'light, and into her mother's, the first time I ever was there, and find all my people, father and all, at a very fine supper at W. Hewer's lodging, very neatly, and to my great pleasure. After supper, into his chamber, which is mighty fine with pictures and every thing else, very curious, which pleased me exceedingly. Thence to the gate, with the women all about me, and Mrs. Mercer's son had provided a great many serpents, and so I made the women all fire some serpents. By

and by comes in our faire neighbour, Mrs. Turner and two neighbour's daughters, Mrs. Tite, the elder of whom, a long red-nosed silly jade; the younger, a pretty black girle, and the merriest sprightly jade that ever I saw. With them idled away the whole night till twelve at night at the bonfire in the streets. Some of the people thereabouts going about with musquets, and did give me two or three vollies of their musquets, I giving them a crowne to drink; and so home. Mightily pleased with this happy day's newes, and the more, because confirmed by Sir Daniel Harvy,¹ who was in the whole fight with the Generall, and tells me that there appear but thirty-six in all of the Dutch fleete left at the end of the voyage when they run home. The joy of the City was this night exceeding great.

7th. Up betimes, and to my office about business, (Sir W. Coventry having sent me word that he is gone down to the fleete to see how matters stand, and to be back again speedily); and with the same expectation of congratulating ourselves with the victory that I had yesterday. But my Lord Brouncker and Sir T. H.² that come from Court, tell me the contrary newes, which astonishes me: that is to say, that we are beaten, lost many ships and good commanders; have not taken one ship of the enemy's; and so can only report ourselves a victory; nor is it certain that

¹ Ranger of Richmond Park. He was brother-in-law to the Edward Montagu killed at Bergen.

² Sir Thomas Harvey.

we were left masters of the field. But, above all, that the Prince run on shore upon the Galloper, and there stuck ; was endeavoured to be fetched off by the Dutch, but could not ; and so they burned her ; and Sir G. Ascue is taken prisoner, and carried into Holland. This newes do much trouble me, and the thoughts of the ill consequences of it, and the pride and presumption that brought us to it. At noon to the 'Change, and there find the discourse of towne, and their countenances much changed ; but yet not very plain. By and by comes Mr. Wayth to me ; and discoursing of our ill successe, he tells me plainly from Captain Page's own mouth, (who hath lost his arm in the fight,) that the Dutch did pursue us two hours before they left us, and then they suffered us to go on homewards, and they retreated towards their coast : which is very sad newes. Then to my office and anon to White Hall, late, to the Duke of York to see what commands he has and to pray a meeting to-morrow for Tangier in behalf of Mr. Yeabsly, which I did do and do find the Duke much damped in his discourse, touching the late fight, and all the Court talk sadly of it. The Duke did give me several letters he had received from the fleete, and Sir W. Coventry and Sir W. Pen, who are gone down thither, for me to pick out some works to be done for the setting out the fleete again ; and so I took them home with me, and was drawing out an abstract of them till midnight. And as to newes, I do find great reason to think that we are beaten in every respect, and that we are the

losers. The Prince upon the Galloper, where both the Royall Charles and Royall Katharine had come twice aground, but got off. The Essex carried into Holland; the Swiftsure missing (Sir W. Barkeley¹) ever since the beginning of the fight. Captains Bacon, Tearne, Wood, Mootham, Whitty, and Coppin, slayne. The Duke of Albemarle writes, that he never fought with worse officers in his life, not above twenty of them behaving themselves like men. Sir William Clerke lost his leg; and in two days died. The Loyall George, Seven Oakes, and Swiftsure are still missing, having never, as the Generall writes himself, engaged with them. It was as great an alteration to find myself required to write a sad letter instead of a triumphant one, to my Lady Sandwich this night, as ever on any occasion I had in my life.

8th. Up very betimes and to attend the Duke of York by order all of us, to report to him what the works are that are required of us and to divide among us, wherein I have taken a very good share, and more than I can perform, I doubt. Thence to the Exchequer about some Tangier businesses, and thence home, where to my very great joy I find Balty come home without any hurt, after the utmost imaginable danger he hath gone through in the Henery, being upon the quarter-deck with Harman all the time; and for which service Harman I heard this day commended most seriously and most eminently by the

¹ Governor of Portsmouth; one of the younger brothers of the Earl of Falmouth.

Duke of York. As also the Duke did do most utmost right to Sir Thomas Teddiman, of whom a scandal was raised, but without cause, he having behaved himself most eminently brave all the whole fight, and to extraordinary great service and purpose, having given Trump himself such a broadside as was hardly ever given to any ship. Mings is shot through the face, and into the shoulder, where the bullet is lodged. Young Holmes¹ is also ill wounded, and Atber in the Rupert. Balty tells me the case of the Henery; and it was, indeed, most extraordinary sad and desperate. After dinner Balty and I to my office, and there talked a great deal of this fight; and I am mightily pleased in him, and have great content in, and hopes of his doing well. Thence out to White Hall to a Committee for Tangier, but it met not. But, Lord! to see how melancholy the Court is, under the thoughts of this last overthrow, (for so it is,) instead of a victory, so much and so unreasonably expected. Thence, the Committee not meeting, Creed and I down the river as low as Sir W. Warren's, with whom I did motion a business that may be of profit to me, about buying some lighters to send down to the fleete, wherein he will assist me. So back again, he and I talking of the last ill management of this fight, and of the ill management of fighting at all against so great a force bigger than ours, and so to the office, where we parted, but with this satisfaction

¹ Afterwards Sir John Holmes, who married Margaret Lowther.

that we hear the Swiftsure, Sir W. Barkeley, is come in safe to the Nore, after her being absent ever since the beginning of the fight, wherein she did not appear at all from beginning to end. But wherever she has been, they say she is arrived there well, which I pray God however may be true. At the office late, doing business, and so home to supper and to bed.

9th. Up, and to St. James's, there to wait on the Duke of York, and had discourse with him about several businesses of the fleete. But, Lord! to see how the Court is divided about the Swiftsure and the Essex's being safe. And wagers and odds laid on both sides. Thence to White Hall in expectation of a meeting of Tangier, and we did industriously labour to have it this morning; but we could not get a fifth person there, so after much pains and thoughts on my side on behalfe of Yeabsly, we were fain to breake up. But, Lord! to see with what patience Lord Ashly did stay all the morning to get a Committee, little thinking that I know the reason of his willingness. So I home to dinner and to Westminster Hall, and bought a payre of gloves, and to see how people do take this late fight at sea, and I find all give over the thoughts of it as a victory and to reckon it a great overthrow. So to White Hall, and there when we were come all together in certain expectation of doing our business to Yeabsly's full content, and us that were his friends, my Lord Peterborough (whether through some difference between him and my Lord Ashly, or him and me or Povy,

or through the falsenesse of Creed, I know not) do bring word that the Duke of York would not have us go forward in this business of allowing the lease of the ships till Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Coventry were come to towne, which was the very thing indeed which we would have avoided. This being told us, we broke up doing nothing, to my great discontent, though I said nothing, and afterwards I find by my Lord Ashly's discourse to me that he is troubled mightily at it, and indeed it is a great abuse of him and of the whole Commissioners that nothing of that nature can be done without Sir G. Carteret or Sir W. Coventry. No sooner was the Committee up, but I am told Sir W. Coventry is come to town; so I to his chamber, and there did give him an account how matters go in our office, and with some content I parted from him, after we had discoursed several things of the haste requisite to be made in getting the fleete out again and the manner of doing it. But I do not hear that he is at all pleased or satisfied with the late fight; but he tells me more newes of our suffering, by the death of one or two captains more than I knew before. But he do give over the thoughts of the safety of the Swiftsure or Essex. Thence homewards, landed at the Old Swan, and there find my pretty Betty Michell and her husband at their doore in Thames Streete, which I was glad to find, and went into their shop, and they made me drink some of their strong water, the first time I was ever with them there. I do exceedingly love her. Home

to my business late. But I am to observe how the drinking of some strong water did immediately put my eyes into a fit of sorenesse again as they were the other day. I mean my right eye only. Late at night I had an account brought me by Sir W. Warren that he has gone through four lighters for me, which pleases me very well. So home to bed, much troubled with our disappointment at the Tangier Committee.

10th (Lord's day). Up very betimes, and down the river to Deptford, and did a good deale of business in sending away and directing several things to the Fleete. That being done, back to London to my office, and there till after Church time fitting some notes to carry to Sir W. Coventry in the afternoon. At noon home to dinner, where my cozen Joyces, both of them, they and their wives and little Will. came by invitation, and I had a good dinner for them ; but, Lord ! how sicke was I of W. Joyce's company, both the impertinencies of it and his ill manners before me at my table to his wife, which I could hardly forbear taking notice of ; but being at my table and for his wife's sake, I did, though I will prevent his giving me the like occasion again at my house I will warrant him. After dinner I took leave and by water to White Hall, and there spent all the afternoon in the Gallery, till the Council was up, to speake with Sir W. Coventry. Walking here I met with Pierce the surgeon, who is lately come from the fleete, and tells me that all the commanders, officers, and even the

common seamen do condemn every part of the late conduct of the Duke of Albemarle: both in his fighting at all, in his manner of fighting, running among them in his retreat, and running the ships on ground; so as nothing can be worse spoken of. That Holmes, Spragg, and Smith do all the business, and the old and wiser commanders nothing. So as Sir Thomas Teddiman (whom the King and all the world speak well of) is mightily discontented, as being wholly slighted. He says we lost more after the Prince came, than before too. The Prince was so maimed, as to be forced to be towed home. He says all the fleet confess their being chased home by the Dutch; and yet the body of the Dutch that did it, was not above forty sayle at most. And yet this put us into the fright, as to bring all our ships on ground. He says, however, that the Duke of Albemarle is as high almost as ever, and pleases himself to think that he hath given the Dutch their bellies full, without sense of what he hath lost us; and talks how he knows now the way to beat them. But he says, that even Smith himself, one of his creatures, did himself condemn the late conduct from the beginning to the end. He tells me further, how the Duke of York is wholly given up to his new mistresse, my Lady Denham,¹ going at noon-day with all his gentlemen with

¹ Margaret Brook, married to Sir John Denham, May 25, 1665. George Brook, third son of William Brook, Lord Cobham, was attainted and executed for his share in Raleigh's plot. He left a son, William Brook, who, having been restored in blood and made a Knight of the Bath, espoused Penel-

him to visit her in Scotland Yard ; she declaring she will not be his mistress, as Mrs. Price,¹ to go up and down the Privy-stairs, but will be owned publicly ; and so she is. Mr. Brouncker, it seems, was the pimp to bring it about, and my Lady Castlemaine, who designs thereby to fortify herself by the Duke ; there being a falling-out the other day between the King and her : on this occasion, the Queene, in ordinary talke before the ladies in her drawing-room, did say to my Lady Castlemaine that she feared the King did take cold, by staying so late abroad at her house. She answered before them all, that he did not stay so late abroad with her, for he went betimes thence, (though he do not before one, two, or three in the morning,) but must stay somewhere else. The King then coming in and overhearing, did whisper in the eare aside, and

ope, third daughter of Sir Moyses Hill, of Hillsborough Castle, in Ireland, the ancestor of the Marquises of Downshire, by whom he had issue three daughters : — First, Hill, who became the wife of Sir William Boothby ; the second, Frances, described, on the lettering of her engraved portrait, as "Lady Whitmore." She was the wife of Sir Thomas Whitmore, of Bridgenorth, second son of Sir Thomas Whitmore, of Apley, Bart. Her daughter, Frances, married William, grandson of Sir George Whitmore, of Balmes, mentioned by Pepys. See Dryden's epitaph on her in his "Works" (Scott's edit. vol. xi. p. 15c.) ; the third was Lady Denham.

Their mother, Lady Brook, surviving her husband, re-married Edward Russell, youngest son of Francis, fifth Earl of Bedford, whose sister was Countess of Bristol. Hence the relationship, or rather the connection, between the two families ; for Hamilton ("Mém. de Grammont"), mentioning that *les Demoiselles Brook* assisted at all Lord Bristol's *fêtes*, calls them *ses parents*.

¹ The Maid of Honour.

² Henry Brouncker, younger brother to Lord Brouncker, whom he succeeded in his title. He was Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York, and a famous chess-player.

told her she was a bold impertinent woman, and bid her to be gone out of the Court, and not come again till he sent for her ; which she did presently, and went to a lodging in the Pell Mell, and kept there two or three days, and then sent to the King to know whether she might send for her things away out of her house. The King sent to her, she must first come and view them : and so she came, and the King went to her, and all friends again. He tells me she did, in her anger, say she would be even with the King, and print his letters to her. So putting all together, we are and are like to be in a sad condition. We are endeavouring to raise money by borrowing it of the City ; but I do not think the City will lend a farthing. By and by the Council broke up, and I spoke with Sir W. Coventry about business, with whom I doubt not in a little time to be mighty well, when I shall appear to mind my business again as I used to do, which by the grace of God I will do. Gone from him I endeavoured to find out Sir G. Carteret, and at last did at Mr. Ashburnham's, in the Old Palace Yarde, and thence he and I stepped out and walked an houre in the church-yarde, under Henry the Seventh's Chappell, he being lately come from the fleete ; and tells me, as I hear from every body else, that the management in the late fight was bad from top to bottom. That several said that this would not have been if my Lord Sandwich had had the ordering of it. Nay, he tells me that certainly had my Lord Sandwich had the misfortune to have done as they

have done, the King could not have saved him. There is, too, nothing but discontent among the officers ; and all the old experienced men are slighted. He tells me to my question, (but as a great secret,) that the dividing of the fleete did proceed first from a proposition from the fleete, though agreed to hence. But he confesses it arose from want of due intelligence. He do, however, call the fleete's retreat on Sunday a very honourable one, and that the Duke of Albemarle did do well in it, and would have been well if he had done it sooner, rather than venture the loss of the fleete and crown, as he must have done if the Prince had not come. He was surprised when I told him I heard that the King did intend to borrow some money of the City, and would know who had spoke of it to me ; I told him Sir Ellis Layton this afternoon. He says it is a dangerous discourse, for that the City certainly will not be invited to do it, and then for the King to ask it and be denied, will be the beginning of our sorrow. He seems to fear we shall all fall to pieces among ourselves. This evening we hear that Sir Christopher Mings is dead of his late wounds ; and Sir W. Coventry did commend him to me in a most extraordinary manner. But this day, after three days' trial in vain, and the hazard of the spoiling of the ship in lying till next spring, besides the disgrace of it, newes is brought that the Loyall London is launched at Deptford.

11th. Up, and down by water to Sir W. Warren's (the first time I was in his new house on the other

side the water since he enlarged it) to discourse about our lighters that he has bought for me, and I hope to get 100*l.* by this jobb. Having done with him I took boat again (being mightily struck with a woman in a hat, a seaman's wife, that stood on the Key) and home, where at the office all the morning with Sir W. Coventry and some others of our board hearing of fireships, and Sir W. Coventry begins to see my pains again, which I do begin to take, and I am proud of it, and I hope shall continue it. He gone, at noon to dinner, and after dinner I, with my Lady Pen and her daughter to see Harman; whom we find lame in bed. His bones of his ancle are broke, but he hopes to do well soon; and a fine person by his discourse he seems to be and mighty hearty; and he did plainly tell me that at the Council of War before the fight, it was against his reason to begin the fight then, and the reasons of most sober men there, the wind being such, and we to windward, that they could not use their lower tier of guns, which was a very sad thing for us to have the honour and weal of the nation ventured so foolishly. I left them there and walked to Deptford, reading in Walsingham's Manual, a very good book, and there met with Sir W. Batten and my Lady at Unthwayt's. Here I did much business and yet had some little mirthe with my Lady, and anon we all came up together to our office, where I was very late doing much business. Late comes Sir Jo. Bankes to see me, and tells me that coming up from Rochester he overtook three or four hundred

seamen, and he believes every day they come flocking from the fleete in like numbers ; which is a sad neglect there, when it will be impossible to get others, and we have little reason to think that these will return presently again. He gone, I to end my letters to-night and then home to supper and to bed.

12th. Up, and to the office. At noon to dinner and then to White Hall in hopes of a meeting of Tangier about Yeabsly's business, but it could not be obtained. Walking in the galleries I find the Ladies of Honour dressed in their riding garbs, with coats and doublets with deep skirts, just for all the world like mine, and buttoned their doublets up the breast, with perriwigs and with hats ; so that, only for a long petticoat dragging under their men's coats, nobody could take them for women in any point whatever ; which was an odde sight, and a sight did not please me. It was Mrs. Wells and another fine lady that I saw thus. Thence down by water to Deptford, and there late seeing some things dispatched down to the fleete, and so home to write my letters very late, and so to supper and to bed.

13th. Up, and by coach to St. James's, and there did our business before the Duke as usual, having before the Duke came out of his bed, walked in an antechamber with Sir H. Cholmly,¹ who tells me there are great jarrs between the Duke of York and the Duke of Albemarle, about the latter's turning out one or

¹ Sir Hugh Cholmley of Whitby, Yorkshire, Bart., was employed in constructing the Mole, at Tangier, and resided there some years. Ob. 1688.

two of the commanders put in by the Duke of York. Among others, Captain Du Tell,¹ a Frenchman, put in by the Duke of York, and mightily defended by him; and is therein led by Monsieur Blancford, that it seems hath the same command over the Duke of York as Sir W. Coventry hath; which raises ill blood between them. And I do in several little things observe that Sir W. Coventry hath of late, by the by, reflected on the Duke of Albemarle and his captains, particularly in that of old Teddiman, who did deserve to be turned out this fight, and was so; but I heard Sir W. Coventry say that the Duke of Albemarle put in one as bad as he is in his room, and one that did as little. After we had done with the Duke of York, I with others to White Hall, there to attend again a meeting of Tangier, but there was none, which vexed me to the heart, and makes me mighty doubtfull that when we have one, it will be prejudiced against poor Yeabsly and to my great disadvantage thereby, my Lord Peterborough making it his business, I perceive (whether in spite to me, whom he cannot but smell to be a friend to it, or to my Lord Ashly, I know not), to obstruct it, and seems to take delight in disappointing of us; but I shall be revenged of him. Here I staid a very great while, almost till noon, and then meeting Balty I took him with me, and to Westminster to the Exchequer about breaking of two tallys of 2,000*l.* each into smaller tallys, which I have been endeavouring a good

¹ See July 27, 1666, *postea*.

while, but to my trouble it will not, I fear, be done, though there be no reason against it, but only a little trouble to the clerks ; but it is nothing to me of real profit at all. Thence with Balty to Hales's by coach, it being the seventh day from my making my last oathes, and by them I am at liberty to dispense with any of my oathes every seventh day after I had for the six days before going performed all my vowes. Here I find my father's picture begun, and so much to my content, that it joys my very heart to thinke that I should have his picture so well done ; who, besides that he is my father, and a man that loves me, and hath ever done so, is also, at this day, one of the most carefull and innocent men in the world. Thence with mighty content homeward, and in my way at the Stockes did buy a couple of lobsters, and so home to dinner, where I find my wife and father had dined. So Balty and I alone to dinner, and in the middle of my grace, praying for a blessing upon (these his good creatures), my mind fell upon my lobsters : upon which I cried, Odd zooks ! and Balty looked upon me like a man at a losse what I meant, thinking at first that I meant only that I had said the grace after meat instead of that before meat. But then I cried, what is become of my lobsters ? Whereupon he run out of doors to overtake the coach, but could not, so came back again, and mighty merry at dinner to thinke of my surprize. After dinner to the Excise Office by appointment, and there find my Lord Bellassis and the Commissioners, and by and by the whole company

came to dispute the business of our running so far behindhand there, and did come to a good issue in it, that is to say, to resolve upon having the debt due to us, and the Household and the Guards from the Excise stated, and so we shall come to know the worst of our condition and endeavour for some helpe from my Lord Treasurer. Thence being invited to Sir Christopher Mings's funeral, but find them gone to church. However I into the church (which is a fair, large church, and a great chappell) and there heard the service, and staid till they buried him, and then out. And there met with Sir W. Coventry (who was there out of great generosity, and no person of quality there but he) and went with him into his coach, and being in it with him there happened this extraordinary case, — one of the most romantique that ever I heard of in my life, and could not have believed, but that I did see it; which was this: — About a dozen able, lusty, proper men came to the coach-side with tears in their eyes, and one of them that spoke for the rest begun and said to Sir W. Coventry, "We are here a dozen of us that have long known and loved, and served our dead commander, Sir Christopher Mings, and have now done the last office of laying him in the ground. We would be glad we had any other to offer after him, and in revenge of him. All we have is our lives; if you will please to get His Royal Highness to give us a fireship among us all, here is a dozen of us, out of all which choose you one to be commander, and the rest of us, whoever he is, will

serve him ; and, if possible, do that that shall show our memory of our dead commander, and our revenge." Sir W. Coventry was herewith much moved, (as well as I, who could hardly abstain from weeping,) and took their names, and so parted ; telling me that he would move His Royal Highness as in a thing very extraordinary, which was done. So we parted. The truth is, Sir Christopher Mings was a very stout man, and a man of great parts, and most excellent tongue among ordinary men ; and as Sir W. Coventry says, could have been the most useful man at such a pinch of time as this. He was come into great renowne here at home, and more abroad in the West Indys. He had brought his family into a way of being great ; but dying at this time, his memory and name (his father being always and at this day a shoemaker, and his mother a hoyman's daughter ; of which he was used frequently to boast) will be quite forgot in a few months as if he had never been, nor any of his name be the better by it ; he having not had time to will any estate, but is dead poor rather than rich. So we left the church and crowd, and I home and there did a little business and then in the evening went down by water to Deptford, it being very late, and there I staid out as much time as I could, and then took boat again homeward, but the officers being gone home, returned and walked to Mrs. Bagwell's and went into her house, but I was not a little fearfull of what she told me but now, which is, that her servant was dead of the plague, and that she had new whitened the

house all below stairs, but that above stairs they are not so fit for me to go up to, they being not so. So I parted thence, with a very good will, but very civil, and away to the waterside, and sent for a pint of sacke and drank what I would and gave the waterman the rest, and so adieu. Home about twelve at night. In my way home I called on a fisherman and bought three eeles, which cost me 3s.

14th. Up, and to the office. At noon dined at home, and then with my wife and father to Hales's, and there looked only on my father's picture (which is mighty like); and so away to White Hall to a committee for Tangier, where the Duke of York was, and Sir W. Coventry, and a very full committee; and instead of having a very prejudiced meeting, they did, though indeed inclined against Yeabsly, yield to the greatest part of his account, so as to allow of his demands to the value of 7,000*l.* and more, and only give time for him to make good his pretence to the rest; which was mighty joy to me: and so we rose up. But I must observe the force of money, which did make my Lord Ashly to argue and behave himself in the business with the greatest friendship, and yet with all the discretion imaginable; and it will be a business of admonition and instruction to me concerning him (and other men, too, for aught I know) as long as I live. Thence away home, and there took out my father, wife, sister, and Mercer our grand Tour in the evening, and made it ten at night before we got home, only drink at the doore at Islington, at the

Katherine Wheel, and so home and to the office a little, and then to bed.

15th. Up betimes, and to my Journall entries, but disturbed by many businesses, among others, by Mr. Houblon's coming to me about evening their freight for Tangier, which I did, and then Mr. Bland, who presented me yesterday with a very fine African mat, to lay upon the ground under a bed of state, being the first fruits of our peace with Guyland. Thence to Westminster to the Exchequer, but could not persuade the blockheaded fellows to do what I desire, of breaking my great tallys into less, notwithstanding my Lord Treasurer's order, which vexed me so much that I would not bestow more time and trouble among a company of dunces, and so back again home, and Creed came and dined with me and walked an houre in the garden, but, Lord! to hear how he pleases himself in behalf of my Lord Sandwich, in the miscarriage of the Duke of Albemarle, and do inveigh against Sir W. Coventry, as a cunning knave, but I thinke that without any manner of reason at all, but only his passion. He being gone I to my chamber to set my Journall right and so to settle my Tangier accounts, which I did in very good order, and then in the evening comes Mr. Yeabsly to reckon with me, which I did also, and have above 200*l.* profit therein to myself, which is a great blessing, the God of heaven make me thankfull for it. That being done, and my eyes beginning to be sore with over-much writing, I to supper and to bed.

16th. To my office and dispatched much business, the King, Duke of Yorke, and Sir W. Coventry being gone down to the fleet. At noon home to dinner and then down to Woolwich and Deptford to look after things, my head akeing from the multitude of businesses I had in my head yesterday. All the way down and up, reading of "The Mayor of Quinborough,"¹ a simple play. At Deptford, while I am there, comes Mr. Williamson, Sir Arthur Ingram and Jacke Fen, to see the new ships, and then I with them home in their boat, and a very fine gentleman Mr. Williamson is. It seems the Dutch do mightily insult of their victory, and they have great reason. Sir William Barkeley was killed before his ship taken; and there he lies dead in a sugar-chest, for every body to see, with his flag² standing up by him. And Sir

¹ A comedy, by Thomas Middleton.

² "Whitehall, July 15. This day arrived a trumpet from the States of Holland, who came over from Calais in the Dover packet-boat, with a letter to his Majesty, that the States have taken order for the embalming the body of Sir William Berkeley, which they have placed in the chapel of the great church at the Hague; a civility they profess to owe to his corpse, in respect to the quality of his person, the greatness of his command, and of the high courage and valour he showed in the late engagement; desiring his Majesty to signify his pleasure about the further disposal of it."—*The London Gazette*, No. 69. "Frederick Ruysch, the celebrated Dutch anatomist, undertook, by order of the States-General, to inject the body of the English Admiral Berkeley, killed in the sea-fight of 1666; and the body, already somewhat decomposed, was sent over to England as well prepared as if it had been the fresh corpse of a child. This produced to Ruysch, on the part of the States-General, a recompence worthy of their liberality, and the merit of the anatomist." (JAMES'S *Medical Dictionary*, quoted in the "*Gent. Mag.*" vol. lvii. p. 214.) Sir William Berkeley was buried the following August in Westminster Abbey.

George Ascue is carried up and down the Hague for people to see.

17th (Lord's day). Being invited to Anthony Joyce's to dinner, my wife and sister and Mercer and I walked out in the morning to Christ Church, and there heard a silly sermon, but sat where we saw one of the prettiest little boys with the prettiest mouth that ever I saw in my life. Thence to Joyce's, where William Joyce and his wife were, and had a good dinner; but, Lord! how sicke was I of the company, only hope I shall have no more of it a good while; but am invited to Will's this week; and his wife, poor unhappy woman, cried to hear me say that I could not be there, she thinking that I slight her: so they got me to promise to come. Thence my father and I walked to Gray's Inne Fields, and there spent an houre or two walking and talking of several businesses; first, as to his estate, he told me it produced about 80*l.* per ann., but then there goes 30*l.* per ann., taxes and other things, certain charge, which I promise to make good as far as this 30*l.*, at which the poor man was overjoyed and wept. As to Pall he tells me he is mightily satisfied with Ensum and so I promised to give her 500*l.* presently, and to oblige myself to 100*l.* more on the birth of her first child, he insuring her in 10*l.* per ann. for every 100*l.*, and in the meantime till she do marry I promise to allow her 10*l.* per ann. Then as to John I tell him I will promise him nothing, but will supply him as so much lent him, I declaring that I am not pleased with him yet, and

that when his degree is over I will send for him up hither, and if he be good for any thing doubt not to get him preferment. This discourse ended to the joy of my father and no less to me to see that I am able to do this, we return to Joyce's and there wanting a coach to carry us home I walked out as far as the New Exchange to find one but could not. So down to the milke-house, and drank three glasses of whay, and then up into the Strand again, and there met with a coach and so to Islington, where we drank and then our tour by Hackney home, where, after a little business at my office and then talke with my Lady and Pegg Pen in the garden, I home and to bed being very weary.

18th. To the office a little, and so to Lumbard Streete, to borrow a little money upon a tally, but cannot. Thence to the Exchequer and there after much wrangling got consent that I should have a great tally broken into little ones. Thence to my Lord Bellassis, by invitation, and there dined with him, and his lady and daughter; and at dinner there played to us a young boy, lately come from France, where he had been learning a yeare or two on the viallin, and plays finely. But impartially I do not find any goodnesse in their ayres (though very good) beyond ours when played by the same, I observed in severall of Baptiste's (the present great composer) and our Bannister's. But it was pretty to see how passionately my Lord's daughter loves musique, the most that ever I saw creature in my life. Thence home

and to the office and anon to Lumbard Streete again, where much talke at Colvill's, he censuring the times, and how matters are ordered and with reason enough ; but, above all, the thinking to borrow money of the City, which will not be done, but be denied, they being little pleased with the King's affairs, and that must breed differences between the King and the City. Thence down by water to Deptford, to order things away to the fleete and back again and after some business at my office late home to supper and to bed. Sir W. Coventry is returned this night from the fleete, he being the activest man in the world, and we all (myself particularly) more afeard of him than of the King or his service, for aught I see ; God forgive us ! This day the great newes is come of the French, their taking the island of St. Christopher's from us ; and it is to be feared they have done the like of all those islands thereabouts : this makes the city mad.

19th. After the office rose (with Creed with me) to Wm. Joyce's to dinner. I made myself as com-plaisant as I could till I had dined, but yet much against my will, and so away after dinner with Creed to Penny's, my Tailor, where I bespoke a thin stuff, and did spend a little time evening some little accounts with Creed and so parted and I to Sir G. Carteret's by appointment ; where I perceive by him the King is going to borrow some money of the City ; but I fear it will do no good, but hurt. He tells me how the Generall¹ is displeased, and there have been some

¹ The Duke of Albemarle.

high words between the Generall and Sir W. Coventry. And it may be so ; for I do not find Sir W. Coventry so highly commending the Duke as he used to be, but letting fall now and then some little jerkes : as this day, speaking of newes from Holland, he says, " I find their victory begins to shrink there, as well as ours here." Here I met with Captain Cocke, and he tells me that the first thing the Prince said to the King upon his coming was, complaining of the Commissioners of the Navy ; that they could have been abroad in three or four days but for us ; that we do not take care of them : which I am troubled at, and do fear may in violence break out upon this office some time or other ; for we shall not be able to carry on the business. So home and to supper with beans and bacon and to bed.

20th. Up, but in some pain of the collique. I have of late taken too much cold by washing my feet and going in a thin silke waistcoate, without any other coate over it, and open-breasted. I did this morning give my father, being to go away to-morrow, some money to buy him a horse, and for other things to himself and my mother and sister, among them 20*l.*, besides undertaking to pay for other things for them to about 3*l.*, which the poor man takes with infinite kindnesse, and I do not thinke I can bestow it better. Thence by coach to St. James's as usual to wait on the Duke of York, after having discoursed with Collo-nell Fitzgerald, whom I met in my way and he returned with me to Westminster about paying him a

sum of 700 and odd pounds, and he bids me defalk¹ 25*l.* for myself, which is a very good thing; having done with the Duke I to the Exchequer and there after much ado do get my business quite over of the difficulty of breaking a great tally into little ones and so shall have it done to-morrow. Thence to the Hall and with Mrs. Martin home and staid with her a while and then away to the Swan and sent for a bit of meat and dined there and thence to Faythorne, the picture-seller's, and there chose two or three good Cutts to try to varnish, and so to Hales's to see my father's picture, which is now near finished and is very good and so away home as fast as I could; but to spite me, in Cheapside I met Mrs. Williams in a coach, and she called me, so I must needs 'light and go along with her and poor Knipp (who is so big as she can tumble and looks every day to lie down) as far as Paternoster Row, which I did do and then staid in Bennett's shop with them and was fearfull lest the people of the shop, knowing me, should aske after my father and give Mrs. Williams any knowledge of me to my disgrace. Having seen them done there and accompanied them to Ludgate I 'light and into my owne coach and home. At home all the evening doing business, and at night in the garden singing and then home to supper and to bed.

21st. Up, and at the office all the morning; where by several circumstances I find Sir W. Coventry and

¹ Deduct. (M. B.)

the Duke of Albemarle do not agree as they used to do; Sir W. Coventry commending Aylett (in some reproach to the Duke), whom the Duke hath put out for want of courage; and found fault with Steward, whom the Duke keeps in, though as much in fault as any commander in the fleete. At noon home to dinner, my father, sister, and wife dining at Sarah Giles's, poor woman, where I should have been, but my pride would not suffer me. After dinner to Mr. Debasty's to speake with Sir Robert Viner, a fine house and a great many fine ladies. He used me mighty civilly. My business was to set the matter right about the letter of credit he did give my Lord Belassis, that I may take up the tallys lodged with Viner for his security in the answering of my Lord's bills, which we did set right very well and Sir Robert Viner went home with me and did give me the 5,000*l.* tallys presently. Here at Mr. Debasty's I saw, in a gold frame, a picture of a fluter playing on his flute which, for a good while, I took for paynting, but at last observed it was a piece of tapestry, and is the finest that ever I saw in my life for figures, and good natural colours, and a very fine thing it is indeed. So home and met Sir George Smith, who tells me that this day my Lord Chancellor and some of the Court have been with the City, and that the City have voted to lend the King 100,000*l.*; which, if soon paid (as he says he believes it will), will be a greater service than I did ever expect at this time from the City. So home to my letters and then with

my wife in the garden and then upon our leads singing in the evening and so after supper to bed.

22nd. Up, and before I went out Mr. Peter Barr sent me a tierce of claret, which is very welcome. So abroad down the river to Deptford and there did some business, and then to Westminster, and there did with much ado get my tallies and so away home and there all day upon my Tangier accounts till past twelve at night and then to bed, my father, wife, and sister late abroad upon the water.

23rd. My father and sister very betimes took their leave; and my wife, with all possible kindnesse, went with them to the coach, I being mightily pleased with their company thus long, and my father with his being here, and it rejoices my heart that I am in a condition to do any thing to comfort him, and would, were it not for my mother, have been contented he should have staid always here with me, he is such innocent company. They being gone, I to my papers, but vexed at what I heard but a little of this morning, before my wife went out, that Mercer and she fell out last night, and that the girle is gone home to her mother's for altogether. This troubles me, though perhaps it may be an ease to me of so much charge. But I love the girle, and another we must be forced to keepe I do foresee and then shall be sorry to part with her. At the office all the morning, much disquiett in my mind in the middle of my business about this girle. Home at noon to dinner, and what with the going away of my father to-day and the losse of

Mercer, I after dinner went up to my chamber and there could have cried to myself, had not people come to me about business. In the evening down to Tower Wharfe thinking to go by water, but could get no watermen ; they being now so scarce, by reason of the great presse ; so to the Custome House, and there, with great threats, got a couple to carry me down to Deptford, all the way reading Pompey the Great (a play translated from the French¹ by several noble persons ; among others, my Lord Buckhurst), that to me is but a mean play, and the words and sense not very extraordinary. From Deptford I walked to Redriffe, and in my way was overtaken by Bagwell, lately come from sea in the Providence, who did give me an account of several particulars in the late fight, and how his ship was deserted basely by the York, Captain Swanly, commander. So I home and there after writing my letters home to supper and to bed, fully resolved to rise betimes, and go down the river tomorrow morning, being vexed this night to find none of the officers in the yarde at 7 at night, nor any body concerned as if it were a Dutch warr.

24th. Sunday. Midsummer Day. Down by water to Deptford, and there did a great deale of business, being in a mighty hurry, Sir W. Coventry writing to me that there was some thoughts that the Dutch fleete were out or coming out. Business being done in providing for the carrying down of some provisions to the

¹ Corneille's play, one act of which had been translated by Edmund Waller, and the rest by Lord Buckhurst, Sir C. Sedley, and Mr. Godolphin.

fleete, I away back home and after dinner by water to White Hall, and there waited till the councill rose, in the boarded gallery, and there among other things I hear that Sir Francis Prujean¹ is dead, after being married to a widow about a yeare or thereabouts. He died very rich, and had, for the last yeare, lived very handsomely, his lady bringing him to it. He was no great pains-taker in person, yet died very rich; and, as Dr. Clerke says, was of a very great judgment, but hath writ nothing to leave his name to posterity. In the gallery among others met with Major Halsey, a great creature of the Duke of Albemarle's; who tells me that the Duke, by name, hath said that he expected to have the worke here up in the River done, having left Sir W. Batten and Mr. Phipps there. He says that the Duke of Albemarle do say that this is a victory we have had, having, as he was sure, killed them 8,000 men, and sunk about fourteen of their ships; but nothing like this appears true. He lays much of the little success we had, however, upon the fleete's being divided by order from above, and the want of spirit in the commanders; and that he was commanded by order to go out of the Downes to the Gun-fleete, and in the way meeting the Dutch fleete, what should he do? should he not fight them? especially having beat them heretofore at as great disadvantage. He tells me further, that having been downe with the Duke of Albemarle, he finds that Holmes and

¹ See 24th October, 1663, where Pepys calls him Sir Francis Pridgeon. He was President of the College of Physicians, 1653. (M. B.)

Spragge do govern most business of the Navy ; and by others I understand that Sir Thomas Allen is offended thereat ; that he is not so much advised with as he ought to be. He tells me also, as he says, of his own knowledge, that several people before the Duke went out did offer to supply the King with 100,000*l.* provided he would be treasurer of it, to see it laid out for the Navy ; which he refused, and so it died. But I believe none of this. This day I saw my lady Falmouth,¹ with whom I remember now I have dined at my Lord Barkeley's heretofore, a pretty woman : she was now in her second or third mourning, and pretty pleasant in her looks. By and by the Council rises, and Sir W. Coventry comes out ; and he and I went aside, and discoursed of much business of the Navy ; and afterwards took his coach, and to Hide-Parke, he and I alone : there we had much talke. First, he started a discourse of a talke he hears about the towne, which, says he, is a very bad one, and fit to be suppressed, if we knew how : which is, the comparing of the successe of the last year with that of this ; saying that that was good, and that bad. I was as sparing in speaking as I could, being jealous of him and myself also, but wished it could be stopped ; but said I doubted it could not otherwise than by the fleete's being abroad again, and so finding other worke for men's minds and discourse. Then to discourse of

¹ Elizabeth, daughter of Hervey Bagot, Esq., and widow of Charles Barkeley, Earl of Falmouth, married secondly, Charles, first Duke of Dorset. She had been Maid of Honour to the Duchess of York.

himself, saying, that he heard that he was under the lash of the people's discourse about the Prince's not having notice of the Dutch being out, and for him to come back again, nor the Duke of Albemarle notice that the Prince was sent for back again: to which he told me very particularly how careful he was the very same night that it was resolved to send for the Prince back, to cause orders to be writ, and waked the Duke, who was then in bed, to sign them; and that they went by expresse that very night, being the Wednesday night before the fight, which begun on the Friday; and that for sending them by the post expresse, and not by gentlemen on purpose, he made a sport of it, and said, I knew none to send it with, but would at least have lost more time in fitting themselves out, than any diligence of theirs beyond that of the ordinary post would have recovered. I told him that this was not so much the towne talke as the reason of dividing the fleete. To this he told me he ought not to say much; but did assure me in general that the proposition did first come from the fleete,¹ and the resolution not being prosecuted with orders so soon as the Generall thought fit, the Generall did send Sir Edward Spragge up on purpose for them; and that there was nothing in the whole business which was not done with the full consent and advice of the Duke of Albemarle. But he did adde (as the Catholiques call *le secret de la Masse*), that Sir Edward Spragge—who

¹ See *ante*, June 10, 1666.

had even in Sir Christopher Mings's time, put in to be the great favourite of the Prince, but much more now had a mind to be the great man with him, and to that end had a mind to have the Prince at a distance from the Duke of Albemarle, that they might be doing something alone—did, as he believed, put on this business of dividing the fleete, and that thence it came. He tells me as to the business of intelligence, the want whereof the world did complain much of, that for that it was not his business, and as he was therefore to have no share in the blame, so he would not meddle to lay it any where else. That de Ruyter was ordered by the States not to make it his business to come into much danger, but to preserve himself as much as was fit out of harm's way, to be able to direct the fleete. He do, I perceive, with some violence, forbear saying any thing to the reproach of the Duke of Albemarle; but, contrarily, speaks much of his courage; but I do as plainly see that he do not like the Duke of Albemarle's proceedings, but, contrarily, is displeased therewith. And he do plainly diminish the commanders put in by the Duke, and do lessen the miscarriages of any that have been removed by him. He concurs with me, that the next bout will be a fatal one to one side or other, because, if we be beaten, we shall not be able to set out our fleete again. He do confess with me that the hearts of our seamen are much saddened; and for that reason, among others, wishes Sir Christopher Mings was alive, who might inspire courage and spirit into them. Speaking of

Holmes, how great a man he is, and that he do for the present, and hath done all the voyage, kept himself in good order and within bounds ; but, says he, a cat will be a cat still, and some time or other out his humour must break again. He do not disowne but that the dividing of the fleete upon the presumptions that were then had (which, I suppose, was the French fleete being come this way), was a good resolution. Having had all this discourse, he and I back to White Hall ; and there I left him, being in a little doubt whether I had behaved myself in my discourse with the policy and circumspection which ought to be used to so great a courtier as he is, and so wise and factious a man, and by water home, and so, after supper, to bed.

25th. All the morning at my Tangier accounts, which the chopping and changing of my taliys make mighty troublesome. At noon, without staying to eat my dinner, I down by water to Deptford, and there coming find Sir W. Batten and Sir Jeremy Smith at dinner at Greenwich at the Beare Taverne, and thither I to them and there dined with them. Very good company of strangers there was, but I took no great pleasure among them, being desirous to be back again. So got them to rise as soon as I could, having told them the newes Sir W. Coventry just now wrote me to tell them, which is, that the Dutch are certainly come out. All this day on the water, entertained myself with the play of Commenius,¹ and being come home

¹ John Amos Commenius, eminent as a divine and grammarian. He was

did go out to Aldgate, there to be overtaken by Mrs. Margaret Pen in her father's coach, and my wife and Mercer with her, and Mrs. Pen carried us to two gardens at Hackny, (which I every day grow more and more in love with), Mr. Drake's one, where the garden is good, and house and the prospect admirable ; the other my Lord Brooke's,¹ where the gardens are much better, but the house not so good, nor the prospect good at all. But the gardens are excellent ; and here I first saw oranges grow : some green, some half, some a quarter, and some full ripe, on the same tree, and one fruit of the same tree do come a year or two after the other. I pulled off a little one by stealth (the man being mighty curious of them) and eat it, and it was just as other little green small oranges are ; as big as half the end of my little finger. Here were also great variety of other exotique plants, and several labyrinths, and a pretty aviary. Having done there with very great pleasure we away back again, and called at the Taverne in Hackny by the church, and there drank and eate, and so in the coole of the evening home. This being the first day of my putting on my black stuff bombazin suit, and I hope to feel no inconvenience by it, the weather being extremely hot. This morning I did with great pleasure hear Mr.

born in Moravia in 1592. His book, "*Janua Linguarum*," acquired, it is said, so much celebrity, that it was translated into twelve European languages. He died at Amsterdam, 1671, aged 80. (M. B.)

¹ Robert Lord Brooke, ob. 1676. Evelyn mentions this garden as Lady Brooke's. Brooke House, at Clapton, was lately occupied as a private mad-house.

Cæsar play some good things on his lute, while he came to teach my boy Tom, and I did give him 40s. for his encouragement.

26th. To the office betimes, and there all the morning, very busy to get out the fleete, the Dutch being now for certain out, and we shall not, we thinke, be much behindhand with them. At noon to the 'Change about business, and after dinner to the setting my Journall to rights, and so to the office again, where all the afternoon full of business and there till night, that my eyes were sore, that I could not write no longer. Then into the garden, my wife and Mercer and my Lady Pen and her daughter with us, and here we sang in the darke very finely half an houre, and so home to supper and to bed. This day in the morning come Mr. Chichly¹ to Sir W. Coventry, to tell him the ill successe of the guns made for the Loyall London; which is, that in the trial every one of the great guns, the whole cannon of seven (as I take it), broke in pieces, which is a strange mishap, and that which will give more occasion to people's discourse of the King's business being done ill. This night Mary my cooke-mayde, that has been with us about three months, but finds herself not able to do my worke, so is gone with great kindnesse away, and another (Luce) come, very ugly and plaine, but may be a good servant for all that.

27th. Up, and to my office awhile. Then down the

¹ Mr., afterwards Sir Thomas Chicheley, a Privy Counsellor and Commissioner of the Ordnance.

river a little way to see vessels ready for the carrying down of 400 land soldiers to the fleete. Then back to the office for my papers, and so to St. James's, where we did our usual attendance on the Duke. Having done with him, we all of us down to Sir W. Coventry's chamber (where I saw his father my Lord Coventry's picture hung up, done by Stone,¹ who then brought it home. It is a good picture, drawn in his judge's robes, and the great seale by him. And while it was hanging up, "This," says Sir W. Coventry, merrily, "is the use we make of our fathers,") to discourse about the proposition of serving us with hempe, delivered in by my Lord Brouncker as from an unknown person, though I know it to be Captain Cocke's. My Lord and Sir William Coventry had some earnest words about it, the one permitting it for his private ends, being, as Cocke tells me himself, to have 500*l.* if the bargain goes on, and I am to have as much, and the other opposing it for the unseasonableness of it, not knowing at all whose the proposition is, which seems the more ingenuous of the two. I sat by and said nothing, being no great friend to the proposition, though Cocke intends me a convenience

¹ Henry Stone, who died 1653, was an excellent painter. His father, Nicholas Stone, was the chief architect in the building of the Banqueting House, Whitehall. He also built the gate and porch of St. Mary's Church, Oxford. (M. B.)

This portrait, if an original, must have been finished long before, for the Lord Keeper died in 1639; possibly it was a copy made for Sir William Coventry by Henry's brother, John Stone, who according to Walpole, survived the Restoration and was the last of his race.

by it. But what I observed most from the discourse was this of Sir W. Coventry, that he do look upon ourselves in a desperate condition. The issue of all standing upon this one point, that by the next fight, if we beat, the Dutch will certainly be content to take eggs for their money,¹ (that was his expression); or if we be beaten, we must be contented to make peace, and glad if we can have it without paying too dear for it. And withall we do rely wholly upon the Parliament's giving us more money the next sitting, or else we are undone. Being gone hence, I by coach to Mr. Cades, the stationer. Here I understand that Ogleby is putting out some new fables of his owne, which will be very fine and very satyricall. Thence home, and after dinner to Mr. Hales's, to pay for my father's picture, which cost me 10*l.* the head and 25*s.* the frame. Thence to Lovett's, who has now done something towards the varnishing of single paper for the making of books which will do, I think, very well. He did also carry me to a Knight's chamber in Graye's Inne, where there is a frame of his making, of counterfeite tortoise shell, which indeed is most excellently done. Thence to my wife to take her up

¹ A proverbial expression when a person was either awed by threats, or overreached by subtlety, to give money upon a trifling or fictitious consideration.

"*Leon.* Mine honest friend,

Will you take eggs for money?

Mam. No, my Lord, I'll fight."

SHAKESPEARE, *Winter's Tale*, act i. sc. 2.

See Nares' Glossary. (M. B.)

and so home, and at the office till late, and so to supper with my wife and to bed. I did this afternoon visit my Lord Bellasses, who professes all imaginable satisfaction in me. My Lord is going down to his garrison to Hull, by the King's command, to put it in order for fear of an invasion : which course I perceive is taken upon the sea-coasts round ; for we have a real apprehension of the King of France's invading us.

28th. Up, and at the office all the morning. After dinner abroad to Lumbard Streete, there to reckon with Sir Robert Viner for some money, and did sett all straight to my great content, and so home, and all the afternoon and evening at the office, my mind full at this time of getting my accounts over, and as much money in my hands as I can, for a great turne is to be feared in the times, the French having some great design, whatever it is, in hand, and our necessities on every side very great. The Dutch are now known to be out, and we may expect them every houre upon our coast. But our fleete is in pretty good readinesse for them.

29th. At noon dined, having first been down to Deptford and did a little business there and back again. So to White Hall, and thence, the Council being up, walked to St. James's, and there had much discourse with Sir W. Coventry at his chamber, who I find quite weary of the warr, decries our having any warr at all, or himself to have been any occasion of it, that he hopes this will make us shy of any warr here-

after, or to prepare better for it, believes that one overthrow on the Dutch side would make them desire peace, and that one on ours will make us willing to accept of one: tells me that Commissioner Pett is fallen infinitely under the displeasure of the Prince and Duke of Albemarle, not giving them satisfaction in the getting out of the fleete, and that the complaint he believes is come to the King, and by Sir W. Coventry's discourse I find he do concur in it, and speaks of his having of no authority in the place where he is, and I do believe at least it will end in his being removed to some other yarde, and I am not sorry for it, but do fear that though he deserves as bad, yet at this time the blame may not be so well deserved. Thence home and to the office; where I met with a letter from Dover, which tells me (and it did come by expresse) that newes is brought over by a gentleman from Callice that the Dutch fleete, 130 sail, are come upon the French coast; and that the country is bringing in picke-axes, and shovells, and wheel-barrows into Callice; that there are 6,000 men armed with head, back, and breast (Frenchmen) ready to go on board the Dutch fleete, and will be followed by 12,000 more. That they pretend they are to come to Dover; and that thereupon the Governor of Dover Castle is getting the victuallers' provision out of the towne into the Castle to secure it. But I do think this is a ridiculous conceit; but a little time will show.

30th. Up, and to the office, and mightily troubled all this morning with going to my Lord Mayor, (Sir

Thomas Bludworth, a silly man¹ I think,) and other places, about getting shipped some men that they have these two last nights pressed in the City out of houses: the persons wholly unfit for sea, and many of them people of very good fashion, which is a shame to think of, and carried to Bridewell they are, yet without being impressed with money legally as they ought to be. But to see how the King's business is done; my Lord Mayor himself did scruple at this time of extremity to do this thing, because he had not money to pay the pressed-money to the men, he told me so himself; nor to take up boats to carry them down through bridge to the ships I have prepared to carry them down in; insomuch that I was forced to promise to be his paymaster, and he did send his City Remembrancer afterwards to the office, and at the table, in the face of the officers, I did there out of my owne purse disburse 15*l.* to pay for their pressing and diet last night and this morning; which is a thing worth record of my Lord Mayor. Busy about this all the morning, and about the getting off men pressed by our officers of the fleete into the service; even our owne men that are at the office, and the boats that carry us. So that it is now become impossible to have so much as a letter carried from place to place, or any message done for us: nay, out of Victualling ships full loaden to go down to the fleete, and out of the vessels

¹ As his conduct during the Great Fire fully proved, when he is said to have boasted that he would extinguish the flames by the same means to which Swift tells us Gulliver had recourse at Lilliput.

of the officers of the Ordnance, they press men, so that for want of discipline in this respect I do fear all will be undone. Vexed with these things, but eased in mind by my ridding of a great deale of business from the office, I late home to supper and to bed. But before I was in bed, while I was undressing myself, our new ugly mayde, Luce, had like to have broke her necke in the darke, going down our upper stairs ; but, which I was glad of, the poor girle did only bruise her head, but at first did lie on the ground groaning and drawing her breath, like one a-dying. This month I end in much hurry of business, but in much more trouble of mind to thinke what will become of publique businesses, having so many enemys abroad, and neither force nor money at all, and but little courage for ourselves, it being really true that the spirits of our seamen and commanders too are really broke by the last defeate with the Dutch, and this is not my conjecture only, but the real and serious thoughts of Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Coventry, whom I have at distinct times heard the same thing come from with a great deale of grief and trouble. But, lastly, I am providing against a foule day to get as much money into my hands as I can, at least out of the publique hands, that so, if a turne, which I fear, do come, I may have a little to trust to. I pray God give me good successe in my choice how to dispose of what little I have, that I may not take it out of publique hands, and put it into worse.

July 1st (Sunday). Up betimes, and to the office

receiving letters, two or three one after another from Sir W. Coventry, and sent as many to him, being full of variety of business and hurry, but among the chiefest is the getting of these pressed men out of the City down the river to the fleete. While I was hard at it comes Sir W. Pen to towne, which I little expected, having invited my Lady and her daughter Pegg to dine with me to-day; which at noon they did, and Sir W. Pen with them: and pretty merry we were. And though I do not love him, yet I find it necessary to keep in with him; his good service at Shearnesse in getting out the fleete being much taken notice of, and reported to the King and Duke, even from the Prince and Duke of Albemarle themselves, and made the most of to me and them by Sir W. Coventry: therefore I think it discretion, great and necessary discretion, to keep in with him. To the Tower several times, about the business of the pressed men, and late at it till twelve at night, shipping of them. But, Lord! how some poor women did cry; and in my life I never did see such natural expression of passion as I did here in some women's bewailing themselves, and running to every parcel of men that were brought, one after another, to look for their husbands, and wept over every vessel that went off, thinking they might be there, and looking after the ship as far as ever they could by moone-light, that it grieved me to the heart to hear them. Besides, to see poor patient labouring men and housekeepers, leaving poor wives and families, taken up on a sudden by strangers, was very hard, and

that without press-money, but forced against all law to be gone. It is a great tyranny.

2nd. Up betimes, and forced to go to my Lord Mayor's, about the business of the pressed men ; and indeed I find him a mean man of understanding and dispatch of any publique business. Thence out of curiosity to Bridewell to see the pressed men, where there are about 300 ; but so unruly that I durst not go among them : and they have reason to be so, having been kept these three days prisoners, with little or no victuals, and pressed out, and, contrary to all course of law, without press-money, and men that are not liable to it. Here I met with prating Colonel Cox, one of the City collonells, heretofore a great presbyter : but to hear how the fellow did commend himself, and the service he do the King ; and, like an asse, at Paul's did take me out of my way on purpose to show me the gate, (the little north gate) where he had two men shot close by him on each hand, and his own hair burnt by a bullet-shot in the insurrection of Venner, and himself escaped. To dinner, and thence to the Excise office by appointment to meet my Lord Bellassis and the Commissioners, which we did and soon dispatched, and so I home, and there was called by Pegg Pen to her house, where her father and mother, and Mrs. Norton, the second Roxalana,¹ a fine woman, indifferent handsome, good body and hand, and good mine,² and pretends to sing, but do it

¹ The first having been Mrs. Davenport.

² The old orthography for *mien*, countenance. See Nares' Glossary (M.B.)

not excellently. However I took pleasure there, and my wife was sent for. Thence weary of losing so much time I to the office, and thence presently down to Deptford ; but to see what a consternation there is upon the water by reason of this great press, that nothing is able to get a waterman to appear almost. I found one of the vessels loaden with the Bridewell birds in a great mutiny, and they would not sail, not they ; but with good words, and cajoling the ringleader into the Tower, (where, when he was come, he was clapped up in the hole,) they were got very quietly ; but I think it is much if they do not run the vessel on ground. But away they went, and I to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and having talked with him a little, then home to supper very late and to bed weary.

3rd. To my Lord Treasurer's to have met my Lord Bellassis and Commissioners of Excise, but they did not meet, my Lord being abroad. However Mr. Finch, one of the Commissioners, I met there, and he and I walked two houres together in the garden, talking of many things ; sometimes of Mr. Povy, whose vanity, prodigality, neglect of his business, and committing to unfit hands hath undone him and outed him of all his publique employments, and the thing set on foot by an accidental revival of a business, wherein he had three or four years ago, by surprize, got the Duke of York to sign to the having a sum of money paid out of the Excise, before some that was due to him, and now the money is fallen short, and

the Duke never likely to be paid. This being revived hath undone Povy. Then we fell to discourse of the Parliament, and the great men there: and among others, Mr. Vaughan,¹ whom he reports as a man of excellent judgement and learning, but most passionate and opiniastre. He had done himself the most wrong (though he values it not), that is, the displeasure of the King in his standing so long against the breaking of the Act for a triennial parliament; but yet do believe him to be a most loyall gentleman. He told me Mr. Prin's character; that he is a man of mighty labour and reading and memory, but the worst judge of matters, or layer together of what he hath read, in the world; which I do not, however, believe him in; that he believes him very true to the King in his heart, but can never be reconciled to episcopacy; that the House do not lay much weight upon him, or any thing he says. He told me many fine things, and so we parted, and I home and hard to work a while at the office and till midnight about settling my last month's accounts, and to my great joy find myself worth above 5,600*l.*, for which the Lord's name be praised! So with my heart full of content to bed. Newes came yesterday from Harwich, that the Dutch had appeared upon our coast with their fleete, and we believe did go to the Gun-fleete, and they are supposed to be there now; but I have heard nothing of them to-day. Yesterday Dr. Whistler, at Sir W. Pen's, told me that

¹ See 28th March, 1664.

Alexander Broome, the great song-maker, is lately dead.¹

4th. Visited very betimes by Mr. Shepley. I out and walked along with him as far as Fleet Streete, it being a fast day, the usual fast for the plague, and few coaches to be had. Thanks be to God, the plague is, as I hear, encreased but two this week ; but in the country in several places it rages mightily, and particularly in Colchester, where it hath long been, and is believed will quite depopulate the place. With the Duke, all of us, among other things, discoursing about the places where to build ten great ships ; the King and Council have resolved on none to be under third-rates ; but it is impossible to do it, unless we have more money towards the doing it than yet we have in any view. But, however, the show must be made to the world. Thence to my Lord Bellassis to take my leave of him, he being going down to the North to look after the Militia there, for fear of an invasion. Thence home, and dined and to the office, where busy all day, and in the evening Sir W. Pen came to me, and we walked together, and talked of the late fight. I find him very plain, that the whole conduct of the last fight was ill ; that two-thirds of the commanders of the whole fleete have told him so : they all saying, that they durst not oppose it at the Council of War, for fear of being called cowards, though it was wholly against their judgement to fight that day with the

¹ He died 30th June, 1666, and was buried, by his own desire, under Lincoln's Inn Chapel, by the side of Prynne.

disproportion of force, and then we not being able to use one gun of our lower tier, which was a greater disproportion than the other. Besides, we might very well have staid in the Downs without fighting, or any where else, till the Prince could have come up to them; or at least till the weather was fair, that we might have the benefit of our whole force in the ships that we had. He says three things must be remedied, or else we shall be undone by this fleete. 1. That we must fight in a line, whereas we fight promiscuously, to our utter and demonstrable ruine; the Dutch fighting otherwise: and we, whenever we beat them. 2. We must not desert ships of our own in distress, as we did, for that makes a captain desperate, and he will fling away his ship, when there are no hopes left him of succour. 3. That ships, when they are a little shattered, must not take the liberty to come in of themselves, but refit themselves the best they can, and stay out—many of our ships coming in with very small disablenesses. He told me that our very commanders, nay, our very flag-officers, do stand in need of exercising among themselves, and discoursing the business of commanding a fleete; he telling me that even one of our flag-men in the fleete did not know which tacke lost the wind, or which kept it, in this last engagement. He says it was pure dismaying and fear that made them all run upon the Galloper, not having their wits about them; and that it was a miracle they were not all lost. He much inveighs upon my discoursing of Sir John Lawson's saying heretofore,

that sixty sail would do as much as one hundred ; and says that he was a man of no counsel at all, but had got the confidence to say as the gallants did, and did propose to himself to make himself great by them, and saying as they did ; but was no man of judgement in his business, but hath been out in the greatest points that have come before them. And then in the business of fore-castles, which he did oppose, all the world sees now the use of them for shelter of men. He did talk very rationally to me, insomuch that I took more pleasure this night in hearing him discourse, than I ever did in my life in any thing that he said.

5th. At noon dined and Mr. Shepley with me, who came to towne the other day. I lent him 30*l*. in silver upon 30 pieces in gold. But to see how apt every body is to neglect old kindnesses ! I must charge myself with the ingratitude of being unwilling to lend him so much money without some pawne, if he should have asked it, but he did not aske it, poor man, and so no harm done. After dinner to Lumbard Streete about money, and then to my office till late, and then a song with my wife and Mercer in the garden, and so with great content to bed.

6th. To Lumbard Streete, in preparation for my having some good sum in my hands, for fear of a trouble in the State, that I may not have all I have in the world out of my hands and so be left a beggar. So to the Tower, about shipping of some more pressed men, and that done, away to Broad Streete, to Sir G. Carteret, who is at a pay of tickets all alone, and I

believe not less than one thousand people in the streets. But it is a pretty thing to observe that both there and every where else, a man shall see many women now-a-days of mean sort in the streets, but no men; men being so afeard of the press. I dined with Sir G. Carteret, and after dinner had much discourse about our publique business; and he do seem to fear every day more and more what I do; which is, a general confusion in the State; plainly answering me to the question, who is it that the weight of the warr depends upon? that it is only Sir W. Coventry. He tells me, too, the Duke of Albemarle is dissatisfied, and that the Duchesse do curse Coventry as the man that betrayed her husband to the sea: though I believe that it is not so. Thence to Lumbard Streete, and received 2,000*l.*, and carried it home: whereof 1,000*l.* in gold. The greatest quantity not only that I ever had of gold, but that ever I saw together and is not much above half a roolb. bag full, but is much weightier. This I do for security sake, and convenience of carriage; though it costs me above 70*l.* the change of it, at 18½*d.* per piece. Being at home, I there met with a letter from Bab Allen,¹ to invite me to be god-father to her boy, with Mrs. Williams, which I consented to, but know not the time when it is to be. At night a song in the garden and to bed.

7th. Dined at home and Creed with me, he tells me he finds all things mighty dull at Court; and that

¹ Mrs. Knipp. See Jan. 5, 1665-6, *ante*.

they now begin to lie long in bed ; it being, as we suppose, not seemly for them to be found playing and gaming as they used to be ; nor that their minds are at ease enough to follow those sports, and yet not knowing how to employ themselves, (though there be work enough for their thoughts and councils and pains,) they keep long in bed. But he thinks with me, that there is nothing in the world can helpe us but the King's personal looking after his business and his officers, and that with that we may yet do well ; but otherwise must be undone : nobody at this day taking care of any thing, nor hath any body to call him to account for it. At night into the garden to my wife and Lady Pen and Pegg. My Lady Pen did give us a tarte and other things and so broke up late and I to bed. It proved the hottest night that ever I was in in my life, and thundered and lightened all night long and rained hard. But, Lord ! to see in what fear I lay a good while, hearing of a little noise of somebody walking in the house : so rung the bell, and it was my mayds going to bed about one o'clock in the morning. But the fear of being robbed, having so much money in the house, was very great, and is still so, and do much disquiet me.

8th. (Lord's day.) To church, wife and Mercer and I, in expectation of hearing some mighty preacher to-day, Mrs. Mary Batelier sending us word so ; but it proved our ordinary silly lecturer, which made me merry, and she laughed upon us to see her mistake. I expected to have had newes sent me of Knipp's

christening to-day ; but, hearing nothing of it, I did not go, though I fear it is but their forgetfulness and so I may disappoint them. To church, after dinner, again, a thing I have not done a good while before, go twice in one day. After church with my wife and Mercer and Tom by water through bridge to the Spring Garden at Fox Hall, and thence down to Deptford and there did a little business, and so back again and to bed.

9th. To Sir G. Downing's, but missed of him. After dinner to my office, where busy till come to by Lovett and his wife, who have brought me some sheets of paper varnished on one side, which lies very white and smooth and, I think, will do our business most exactly, and will come up to the use that I intended them for, and I am apt to believe will be an invention that will take in the world. I have made up a little book of it to give Sir W. Coventry to-morrow, and am very well pleased with it. Home with them, and there find my aunt Wight with my wife come to take her leave of her, being going for the summer into the country ; and there was also Mrs. Mary Batelier and her sister, newly come out of France, a black, very black woman, but mighty good-natured people both, as ever I saw. Here I made the black one sing a French song, which she did mighty innocently ; and then Mrs. Lovett play on the lute, which she do very well ; and then Mercer and I sang ; and so, with great pleasure, I left them, having showed them my chamber, and 1,000*l.* in gold, which they wondered at, and

given them sweetmeats, and shewn my aunt Wight my father's picture, which she admires. So I left them and to the office, where Mr. Moore came to me and talking of my Lord's family business tells me that Mr. Shepley is ignorantly, we all believe, mistaken in his accounts above 700*l*. more than he can discharge himself of, which is a mighty misfortune, poor man, and may undo him, and yet every body believes that he do it most honestly. I am troubled for him very much. He gone, I hard at the office till night, then home to supper and to bed.

10th. Busy all the morning, and presented Sir W. Coventry with my little book made up of Lovett's varnished paper, which he and the whole board liked very well. At noon home to dinner and then to the office; the yarde being very full of women (I believe above three hundred) coming to get money for their husbands and friends that are prisoners in Holland; and they lay clamouring and swearing and cursing us, that my wife and I were afeard to send a venison-pasty that we have for supper to-night to the cook's to be baked, for fear of their offering violence to it: but it went, and no hurt done. Then I took an opportunity, when they were all gone into the foreyarde, and slipt into the officé and there busy all the afternoon, but by and by the women got into the garden, and came all to my closett window, and there tormented me, and I confess their cries were so sad for money, and laying down the condition of their families and their husbands, and what they have done and

suffered for the King, and how ill they are used by us, and how well the Dutch are used here by the allowance of their masters, and what their husbands are offered to serve the Dutch abroad, that I do most heartily pity them, and was ready to cry to hear them, but cannot helpe them. However, when the rest were gone, I did call one to me that I heard complaine only and pity her husband and did give her some money, and she blessed me and went away. Anon my business at the office being done I to the Tower to speak with Sir John Robinson, principally about the bad condition of the pressed men for want of clothes, as it is represented from the fleete, and so to provide them shirts and stockings and drawers. Home, and there find my wife and the two Mrs. Bateliers walking in the garden. I with them till almost 9 at night, and then they and we and Mrs. Mercer, the mother, and her daughter Anne, and our Mercer, to supper to a good venison-pasty and other good things, and had a good supper, and very merry, Mistress Bateliers being both very good-humoured. We sang and talked, and then led them home, and there they made us drink; and, among other things, did show us, in cages, some birds brought from about Bordeaux, that are all fat, and, examining one of them, they are so, almost all fat. Their name is [Ortolans], which are brought over to the King for him to eat, and indeed are excellent things. We parted from them and so home to bed.

11th. By water to Sir G. Downing's, there to dis-

course with him about the reliefe of the prisoners in Holland ; which I did, and we do resolve of the manner of sending them some. So I away by coach to St. James's, and there hear that the Duchesse is lately brought to bed of a boy.¹ By and by called to wait on the Duke, the King being present ; and there agreed, among other things, of the places to build the ten new great ships ordered to be built, and as to the relief of prisoners in Holland. And then about several stories of the basenesse of the King of Spayne's being served with officers : they in Flanders having as good common men as any Prince in the world, but the veriest cowards for the officers, nay for the generall officers, as the Generall and Lieutenant-generall, in the whole world. But, above all things, the King did speake most in contempt of the ceremoniousnesse of the King of Spayne, that he do nothing but under some ridiculous form or other. Thence to Westminster Hall and there staid a while, and then to the Swan and kissed Sarah, and so home to dinner, and after dinner out again to Sir Robert Viner, and there did agree with him to accommodate some business of tallys so as I shall get in near 2,000*l.* into my own hands, which is in the King's, upon tallys ; which will be a pleasure to me, and satisfaction to have a good sum in my own hands, whatever evil disturbances should be in the State ; though it troubles me to lose so great a profit as the King's interest of ten per cent.

¹ On the 4th. Charles, Duke of Kendall, died 22nd May, 1667.

for that money. When I came to the office, I there met with a command from my Lord Arlington, to go down to a galliott at Greenwich, by the King's particular command, that is going to carry the Savoy Envoye over, and we fear that there may be many Frenchmen there on board ; and so I have a power and command to search for and seize all that have not passes from one of the Secretarys of State, and to bring them and their papers and everything else in custody. So I to the Tower, and got a couple of musquetiers with me, and Griffen and my boy Tom and so down ; and, being come, found none on board but two or three servants, looking to horses and doggs, there on board, and, seeing no more, I staid not long there but away and on shore at Greenwich, the night being late and the tide against us ; so, having sent before, to Mrs. Clerke's and there I had a good bed, and well received, the whole people rising to see me, and among the rest young Mrs. Daniel, whom I kissed again and again. So by and by to bed and slept pretty well,

12th. But was up again by five o'clock, and was forced to rise, having much business, and away to the Tower, and thence, having shifted myself, to St. James's, to Goring House, there to wait on my Lord Arlington to give him an account of my night's worke, but he was not up, being not long since married :¹ so, after walking up and down the house below, — being

¹ To Isabella, daughter of Louis de Nassau, Lord of Beverweert, and Count of Nassau, natural son of Prince Maurice. She was sister of the

the house I was once at Hartlib's sister's wedding,¹ and is a very fine house and finely furnished, — and then thinking it too much for me to lose time to wait my Lord's rising, I away to St. James's, and so with Sir W. Coventry into London, to the office. And all the way I observed him mightily to make mirth of the Duke of Albemarle and his people about him, saying, that he was the happiest man in the world for doing of great things by sorry instruments. And so particularized in Sir W. Clerke, and Riggs, and Halsey, and others. And then again said that the only quality eminent in him was, that he did persevere; and indeed he is a very drudge, and stands by the King's business. And this he said, that one thing he was good at, that he never would receive an excuse if the thing was not done; listening to no reasoning for it, be it good or bad. But then I told him, what he confessed, that he would however give the man, that he employs, orders for removing of any obstruction that he thinks he shall meet with in the world, and instanced in several warrants that he issued for breaking open of houses and other outrages about the business of prizes, which people bore with either for affection or fear, which he believes would not have been borne with from the King, nor Duke, nor any man else in England, and I thinke he is in the right, but it is not from their love of him, but from something else I cannot

Countess of Ossory; her daughter by Lord Arlington was afterwards first Duchess of Grafton. See 15th Nov., 1666.

¹ See July 10, 1660.

presently say. Sir W. Coventry did further say concerning Warcupp, his kinsman, that had the simplicity to tell Sir W. Coventry, that the Duke did intend to go to sea and to leave him his agent on shore for all things that related to the sea. But, says Sir W. Coventry, I did believe that the Duke of York would expect to be his agent on shore for all sea matters. And then he begun to say what a great man Warcupp was, and something else, and what was that but a great lyer; and told me a story, how at table he did, they speaking about antipathys, say, that a rose touching his skin any where, would make it rise and pimple; and, by and by, the dessert coming, with roses upon it, the Duchesse² bid him try, and they did; but they rubbed and rubbed, but nothing would do in the world, by which his lie was found out then. He spoke contemptibly of Holmes and his mermidons, that came to take down the ships from hence, and have carried them without any necessaries, or any thing almost, that they will certainly be longer getting ready than if they had staid here. In fine, I do observe, he hath no esteem nor kindnesse for the Duke's matters, but, contrarily, do slight him and them; and I pray God the Kingdom do not pay too dear by this

¹ See Evelyn's Diary, 18th June, 1678: "Lord Stafford rose from table, in some disorder, because there were roses stuck about the fruit when the dessert was set upon the table; such an antipathy, it seems, he had to them as once Lady Selenger also had, and to that degree that, as Sir Kenelm Digby tells us, laying but a rose upon her cheek, when she was asleep, it raised a blister; but Sir Kenelm was a teller of strange things." (M. B.)

² Of Albemarle.

jarring; though this blockheaded Duke I did never expect better from. To dinner and thence to the office, where Mrs. Burroughs, my pretty widow, was and so I did her business and sent her away by agreement, and presently I by coach after and took her up in Fenchurch Streete and away through the City, hiding my face as much as I could, but she being mighty pretty and well enough clad, I was not afeard, but only lest somebody should see me and think me idle. I quite through with her, and so into the fields Uxbridge way, a mile or two beyond Tyburne, and then back and then to Paddington, and then back to Lysen green, a place the coachman led me to (I never knew in my life) and there we eat and drank and so back to Charing Crosse, and there I set her down. All the way most excellent pretty company. I had her lips as much as I would, and a mighty pretty woman she is and very modest and yet kinde in all fair ways. All this time I passed with mighty pleasure, it being what I have for a long time wished for, and did pay this day 5*s.* forfeite for her company. She being gone, I to White Hall and there to Lord Arlington's, and met Mr. Williamson, and find there is no more need of my trouble about the Galliot, so with content departed, and went straight home and at the office did the most in the wearied and sleepy state I could, and so to supper, and after supper falling to singing with Mercer did however sit up with her, she pleasing me with her singing of "Helpe, helpe," till past midnight and I not a whit drowsy, and so to bed.

13th. To the office where till about noon, then out to the 'Change and so home to dinner. Then out again to Sir R. Viner, and there to my content settled the business of two tallys, so as I shall have 2,000*l.* almost more of my owne money in my hand which pleases me mightily, and so to the office where mighty busy, and then home to supper and to even my Journall and to bed. Our fleete being now in all points ready to sayle, but for the carrying of the two or three new ships which will keepe them a day or two or three more.

14th. Up betimes to the office, to write fair a laborious letter I wrote as from the Board to the Duke of York, laying out our want of money again; and particularly the business of Captain Cocke's tender¹ of hemp, which my Lord Brouncker brought in under an unknown hand without name. Wherein his Lordship will have no great successe, I doubt. That being done, I down to Thames-streete, and there agreed for four or five tons of corke, to send this day to the fleete, being a new device to make barricados with, instead of junke. By this means I came to see and kiss Mr. Hill's young wife and a blithe young woman she is. So to the office and sent for young Michell and employed him all the afternoon about weighing and shipping off of the corke, having by this means an opportunity of getting him 30 or 40*s.* To the office very late, very busy and did indeed dispatch

¹ For which Pepys was to receive 500*l.*

much business and so to supper and after a song in the garden, which is now the greatest pleasure I take, and indeed do please me mightily, to bed. This evening I had Davila¹ brought home to me, and find it a most excellent history as ever I read.

15th (Lord's day). To church, where our lecturer made a sorry silly sermon, upon the great point of proving the truth of the Christian religion. Had a good dinner, there comes young Michell and his wife, whom my wife concurs with me to be a pretty woman and with her husband is a pretty innocent couple. Mighty pleasant we were and I mightily pleased in her company and to find my wife so well pleased with them also. After dinner he to the Abbey, and I to White Hall, but met with nobody to discourse with, having no great mind to be found idling there, and be asked questions of the fleete, so walked only through to the Parke, and there, it being mighty hot and I weary, lay down by the canalle, upon the grasse, and slept awhile, and was thinking of a lampoone which hath run in my head this weeke, to make upon the late fight at sea, and the miscarriages there ; but other businesses put it out of my head, and so home and there drank a great deale of small beer ; and so took up my wife and Betty Michell and her husband, and away into the fields, to take the ayre, as far as beyond Hackny, and so back again, in our way drinking a great deale of milke, which I drank to take away my

¹ The work referred to is *Storia delle guerre civili di Francia*, by Arrigo Caterino Davila. It is still a very popular book.

heartburne. So home and supped and away went Michell and his wife, of whom I stole two or three salutes and so to bed in some pain and in fear of more, which accordingly I met with, for I was in mighty pain all night long, which I impute to the milke that I drank after so much beer, but the cold, to my washing my feet the night before.

16th. A wonderful dark sky, and shower of rain this morning. At Harwich a shower of hail as big as walnuts. In great pain all the morning. Passed the day with Balty, who is come from sea for a day or two before the fight, and I perceive could be willing fairly to be out of the next fight, and I cannot much blame him, he having no reason by his place to be there; however would not have him to be absent, manifestly to avoid being there.

17th. Able to rise to go to the office and there sat but in pain. I went and bought a common riding-cloake for myself, to save my best. It cost me but 30s., and will do my turne mighty well. Thence home and walked in the garden with Sir W. Pen a while, and saying how the riding in the coach do me good, he ordered his to be got ready, and so abroad he and I after 8 o'clock at night, as far almost as Bow, and so back again, and so home to supper and to bed. This day I did bid Balty to agree with —, the Dutch paynter, which he once led me to, to see land-skipps, for a winter piece of snow, which indeed is a good piece, and costs me but 40s., which I would not take the money again for, it being, I think, very good.

18th. To St. James's after my fellows and there did our business, which is mostly every day to complain of want of money, and that only will undo us in a little time. Here, among other things, before us all, the Duke of York did say, that now at length he is come to a sure knowledge that the Dutch did lose in the late engagements twenty-nine captains and thirteen ships. Upon which Sir W. Coventry did publickly move, that if his Royal Highness had this of a certainty, it would be of use to send this down to the fleete, and to cause it to be spread about the fleete, for the recovering of the spirits of the officers and seamen; who are under great dejectedness for want of knowing that they did do any thing against the enemy, notwithstanding all that they did to us. Which, though it be true, yet methought was one of the most dishonourable motions to our countrymen that ever was made; and is worth remembering. Thence with Sir W. Pen home, calling at Lilly's, to have a time appointed when to be drawn among the other Commanders of Flags the last year's fight. And so full of work Lilly is, that he was fain to take his table-book out to see how his time is appointed, and appointed six days hence for him to come between seven and eight in the morning. Thence with him home; and there by appointment I find Dr. Fuller, now Bishop of Limericke, in Ireland; whom I knew in his low condition at Twittenham,¹ and find the

¹ Twickenham, where he kept a school.

Bishop the same good man as ever ; and in a word, kind to us, and, methinks, one of the comeliest and most becoming prelates in all respects that ever I saw in my life. During dinner comes an acquaintance of his, Sir Thomas Littleton ;¹ whom I knew not while he was in my house, but liked his discourse : and afterwards, by Sir W. Pen, do come to know that he is one of the greatest speakers in the House of Commons, and the usual second to the great Vaughan. So was sorry I did observe him no more, and gain more of his acquaintance. Walked to Woolwich, reading "the Rivall Ladys" all the way, and find it a most pleasant and fine writ play.

19th. To the office, where all the morning. Full of wants of money, and much stores to buy, for to replenish the stores, and no money to do it with, nor anybody to trust us without it. So at noon home to dinner, Balty and his wife with us. By and by Balty takes his leave of us, he going away towards the fleete, where he will pass through one great engagement more before he be two days older, I believe. After I was in bed I had a letter from Sir W. Coventry that tells me that the fleete is sailed this morning ; God send us good newes of them !

20th. To White Hall, and there the Duke of York

¹ Afterwards made Treasurer of the Navy, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Osborne. He was the eldest son of Sir Adam Littleton, of Stoke Milburgh, Salop, who had been created a baronet in 1642. He married Anne, daughter and heir of Edward Lord Littleton, the Lord Keeper, and died in 1681, aged 57. Sir Thomas Littleton, the only son of this match, became Speaker of the House of Commons, and deceased, s. p., in 1709.

did bid Sir W. Pen to stay to discourse with him and the King about business of the fleete, which troubled me a little, but it was only out of envy, for which I blame myself, having no reason to expect to be called to advise in a matter I understand not. So I away to Lovett's, there to see how my picture goes on to be varnished, a fine Crucifix,¹ which will be very fine; and here I saw some fine prints, brought from France by Sir Thomas Crew. Lovett did present me with a varnished staffe, very fine and light to walk with. So home and to dinner, there coming young Mrs. Daniel and her sister Sarah, and dined with us; and old Mr. Hawly, whose condition pities me, he being forced to turne under parish-clerke at St. Giles's, I think at the other end of the towne. Thence I to the office, where busy all the afternoon and in the evening with Sir W. Pen walking in the garden, with whom I am of late mighty great, and it is wisdom to continue myself so, for he is of all the men of the office at present most manifestly usefull and best thought of. He and I supped together upon the seat in the garden and then, he gone, my wife and Mercer came and walked and sang late, and then home to bed.

21st. At noon walked in the garden with Commissioner Pett (newly come to towne), who tells me how infinite the disorders are among the commanders and all officers of the fleete. No discipline: nothing but swearing and cursing, and every body doing what they

¹ This crucifix occasioned Pepys trouble long afterwards, having been brought as evidence that he was a Papist. See *Life*, vol. i.

please ; and the Generalls, understanding no better, suffer it, to the reproaching of this Board, or whoever it will be. He himself hath been challenged twice to the field, or something as good, by Sir Edward Spragge and Capt. Seamour. He tells me that captains carry, for all the late orders, what men they please ; demand and consume what provisions they please. So that he fears, and I do no less, that God Almighty cannot bless us while we keep in this disorder that we are in : he observing to me too, that there is no man of counsel or advice in the fleete ; and the truth is, the gentlemen captains will undo us, for they are not to be kept in order, their friends about the King and Duke, and their own houses, are so free, that it is not for any person but the Duke himself to have any command over them.

22nd (Lord's day). Up, and to my chamber, and there till noon mighty busy, setting many matters, and other things of mighty moment to rights to the great content of my mind, I finding that accounts but a little let go can never be put in order by strangers, for I cannot without much difficulty do it myself. After dinner to them again till about four o'clock and then walked to White Hall, where saw nobody almost, but walked up and down with Hugh May, who is a very ingenious man. Among other things, discoursing of the present fashion of gardens to make them plain, that we have the best walks of gravell in the world, France having none, nor Italy ; and our green of our bowling allies is better than any they have. So

our business here being ayre, this is the best way, only with a little mixture of statues, or pots, which may be handsome, and so filled with another pot of such or such a flower or greene as the season of the year will bear. And then for flowers, they are best seen in a little plat by themselves ; besides, their borders spoil the walks of another garden : and then for fruit, the best way is to have walls built circularly one within another, to the South, on purpose for fruit, and leave the walking garden only for that use. Thence walked through the House, where most people mighty hush and, methinks, melancholy. I see not a smiling face through the whole Court ; and, in my conscience, they are doubtfull of the conduct again of the Generalls, and I pray God they may not make their fears reasonable. Guyland is lately overthrown wholly in Barbary by the King of Tafiletta. Sir Richard Fanshaw is lately dead¹ at Madrid. The fleete cannot get clear of the River, but expect the first wind to be out, and then to be sure they fight. The Queene and Maids of Honour are at Tunbridge.

23rd. Up, and to my chamber doing several things there of moment, and then comes Sympson the Joyner ; and he and I with great pains contriving presses to put my books up in : they now growing numerous, and lying one upon another on my chairs, I lose the use to avoyde the trouble of removing them, when I would open a book. Thence out to the Excise office about

¹ He died 16th June, 1666.

business and then homewards met Colvill, who tells me he has 1,000*l.* ready for me upon a tally ; which pleases me, and yet I know not now what to do with it, having already as much money as is fit for me to have in the house, but I will have it. I did also meet Alderman Backewell who tells me of the hard usage he now finds from Mr. Fen, in not getting him a bill or two paid, now that he can be no more usefull to him ; telling me that what by his being abroad and Shaw's death he has lost the ball, but that he doubts not to come to give a kicke at it still, and then he shall be wiser and keepe it while he has it. But he says he has a good master, the King, who will not suffer him to be undone,¹ as otherwise he must have been, and I believe him. So home and to dinner, where I confess reflecting upon the ease and plenty that I live in, of money, goods, servants, honour, every-thing, I could not but with hearty thanks to Almighty God ejaculate my thanks to Him while I was at dinner, to myself. After dinner to the office and there till five or six o'clock and then by coach to St. James's and there with Sir W. Coventry and Sir G. Downing to take the ayre in the Parke. All full of expectation of the fleete's engagement, but it is not yet. Sir W. Coventry says they are eighty-nine men-of-warr, and but one fifth-rate ; and that, the Sweepstakes, which carries forty guns. They are most infinitely manned. He tells me the Loyall London, Sir J. Smith (which,

¹ He had reason afterwards to alter his opinion of his "good master, the King," by whom he was ruined. See note, 26th June, 1660. (M. B.)

by the way, he commends to be the best ship in the world, large and big), hath above eight hundred men ; and moreover takes notice, which is worth notice, that the fleete hath laine now near fourteen days without any demand for a farthing-worth of any thing of any kind, but only to get men. He also observes, that with this excesse of men, nevertheless, they have thought fit to leave behind them sixteen ships, which they have robbed of their men, which certainly might have been manned, and they been serviceable in the fight, and yet the fleete well-manned, according to the excesse of supernumeraries, which we hear they have. At least two or three of them might have been left manned, and sent away with the Gottenburgh ships. They conclude this to be much the best fleete, for force of guns, greatnesse and number of ships and men, that ever England did see ; being, as Sir W. Coventry reckons, besides those left behind, eighty-nine men of warr, and twenty fire-ships, though we cannot hear that they have with them above eighteen. The French are not yet joined with the Dutch, which do dissatisfy the Hollanders, and if they should have a defeat, will undo De Witt ;¹ the people generally of Holland do hate this league with France. We cannot think of any business, but lie big with expectation of the issue of this fight, but do conclude that, this fight being over, we shall be able to see the whole issue of the warr, good or bad. So homeward, and walked

¹ Pepys seems to have foreseen the fate of De Witt.

over the Parke (St. James's) with Sir G. Downing, and at White Hall took a coach, and there to supper with much pleasure and to bed.

24th. Up, and to the office, where little business done, our heads being full of expectation of the fleet's being engaged, but no certain notice of it. At noon to dinner and after dinner with Mercer (as of late, my practice is) a song and so to the office and busy very late, till midnight, drawing up a representation of the state of my victualling business to the Duke, I having never appeared to him doing anything yet and therefore I now do it in writing, I now having the advantage of having had two fleets dispatched in better condition than ever any fleets were yet, I believe; at least, with least complaint, and by this means I shall with the better confidence get my bills out for my salary.

25th. By hackney coach to St. James's, where the Duke is gone abroad with the King to the Parke, but anon came back to White Hall, and we, after an hour's waiting, walked thither. At White Hall we find the Court gone to Chappell, it being St. James's-day. And by and by, while they are at chappell, and we waiting chappell being done, come people out of the Parke, telling us that the guns are heard plainly. And so every body to the Parke, and by and by the chappell done, and the King and Duke into the bowling-green, and upon the leads, whither I went, and there the guns were plain to be heard; though it was pretty to hear how confident some would be in the loudness of the guns, which it was as much as

ever I could do to hear them. By and by the King to dinner, and I waited there his dining ; but, Lord ! how little I should be pleased, I think, to have so many people crowding about me ; and among other things it astonished me to see my Lord Barkeshire¹ waiting at table, and serving the King drink, in that dirty pickle as I never saw man in my life. Here I met Mr. Williams, who would have me to dine where he was invited to dine, at the Backe-stayres. So after the King's meat was taken away, we thither ; but he could not stay, but left me there among two or three of the King's servants, where we dined with the meat that came from his table ; which was most excellent, with most brave drink cooled in ice (which at this hot time was welcome), and I drinking no wine, had metheglin for the King's owne drinking, which did please me mightily.

26th. To the office where all the morning. At noon dined at home : Mr. Hunt and his wife, who is very gallant, and newly come from Cambridge, because of the sicknesse, with us. Very merry at table, and the people I do love mightily, but being in haste to go to White Hall I rose, and Mr. Hunt with me and by coach thither, where I left him in the boarded gallery, and I by appointment to attend the Duke of York at his closett, but being not come, Sir G. Carteret and I did talke together, and he advises me, that, if I could, I would get the papers of examination touching

¹ Thomas Howard, second son of Thomas, first Earl of Suffolk, created Earl of Berkshire, 1625-26, K. G. Ob. 1669, aged nearly 90.

the business of the last year's prizes, which concern my Lord Sandwich, out of Warcupp's hands, who being now under disgrace and poor, he believes may be brought easily to part with them. My Lord Crew, it seems, is fearfull yet that matters may be enquired into. This I will endeavour to do, though I do not thinke it signifies much. By and by the Duke of York comes and we had a meeting and, among other things, I did read my declaration of the proceedings of the Victualling action this yeare, and desired his Royall Highnesse to give me the satisfaction of knowing whether his Royall Highnesse were pleased therewith. He told me he was, and that it was a good account, and that the business of the Victualling was much in a better condition than it was the last yeare; which did much joy me, being said in the company of my fellows; by which I shall be able with confidence to demand my salary and the rest of the subsurveyors. Thence away mightily satisfied to Mrs. Pierce's, there to find my wife. Mrs. Pierce has lain in of a boy about a month. The boy is dead this day. She lies in good state, and very pretty she is, but methinks do every day grow more and more great, and a little too much, unless they get more money than I fear they do. Thence with my wife and Mercer to my Lord Chancellor's new house, and there carried them up to the leads, where I find my Lord Chamberlain, Lauderdale, Sir Robert Murray, and others, and do find it the most delightfull place for prospect that ever was in the world, and even ravishing me, and that is

all, in short, I can say of it. Thence to Islington to our old house and eat and drank, and so round by Kingsland home and there to the office a little and Sir W. Batten's, but no newes at all from the fleete and so home to bed.

27th. At noon dined at home and then to the office again and there walking in the garden with Captain Cocke till 5 o'clock. His great bargaine of Hempe with us by his unknown proposition is disliked by the King, and so is quite off; of which he is glad, by this means being rid of his obligation to my Lord Brouncker, which he was tired with, and especially his mistresse, Mrs. Williams, and so will fall into another way about it, wherein he will advise only with myself, which do not displease me, and will be better for him and the King too. Much common talke of publique business, the want of money, the uneasinesse that Parliament will find in raising any, and the ill condition we shall be in if they do not, and his confidence that the Swede is true to us, but poor, but would be glad to do us all manner of service in the world. He gone, I away by water from the Old Swan to White Hall. The waterman tells me that newes is come that our ship Resolution is burnt, and that we had sunke four or five of the enemy's ships. To Sir W. Coventry's lodging, and there he showed me Captain Talbot's letter, wherein he says that the fight begun on the 25th; that our White squadron begun with one of the Dutch squadrons, and then the Red with another, so hot that we put them both to giving way, and so they

continued in pursuit all the day, and as long as he stayed with them : that the Blue fell to the Zealand squadron ; and after a long dispute, he against two or three great ships, he received eight or nine dangerous shots, and so came away ; and says, he saw the Resolution burned by one of their fire-ships, and four or five of the enemy's. But says that two or three of our great ships were in danger of being fired by our owne fire-ships, which Sir W. Coventry nor I cannot understand. But upon the whole, he and I walked two or three turns in the Parke under the great trees, and do doubt that this gallant is come away a little too soon, having lost never a mast nor sayle. And then we did begin to discourse of the young gentlemen captains, which he was very free with me in speaking his mind of the unruliness of them ; and what a losse the King hath of his old men, and now of this Hannam, of the Resolution, if he be dead, and that there is but few old sober men in the fleete and if these few of the Flags that are so should die, he fears some other gentlemen-captains will get in, and then what a council we shall have, God knows. He told me how he is disturbed to hear the commanders at sea called cowards here on shore, and that he was yesterday concerned publicly at a dinner to defend them, against somebody that said that not above twenty of them fought as they should do, and indeed it is derived from the Duke of Albemarle himself who wrote so to the King and Duke, and that he told them how they fought four days, two of them with great disad-

vantage. The Count de Guiche,¹ who was on board De Ruyter, writing his narrative home in French of the fight, do lay all the honour that may be upon the English courage above the Dutch, and that he himself (Sir W. Coventry) was sent down from the King and Duke of York after the fight, to pray them to spare none that they thought had not done their parts, and that they have removed but four, whereof Du Tell is one, of whom he would say nothing; but, it seems, the Duke of York hath been much displeased at his removal, and hath now taken him into his service,² which is a plain affront to the Duke of Albemarle; and two of the others, Sir W. Coventry did speake very slenderly of their faults. Only the last, which was old Teddiman, he says, is in fault, and hath little to excuse himself with; and that, therefore, we should not be forward in condemning men of want of courage, when the Generalls, who are both men of metal, and hate cowards, and had the sense of our ill succeſſe upon them (and by the way must either let the world thinke it was the miscarriage of the Captains or their owne conduct) have thought fit to remove no more of them, when desired by the King and Duke of York to do it, without respect to any favour any of them can pretend to in either of them. At last we

¹ Eldest son of the Duke de Grammont.

² As Yeoman of the Cellar and Cup-bearer. This most improper step of the Duke of York is alluded to in the "Poems on State Affairs," vol. i. p. 36, ed. 1703:—

"Cashier the memory of Dutell, raised up
To taste, instead of death, his Highness' cup."

concluded that we never can hope to beat the Dutch with such advantage as now in number and force and a fleete in want of nothing, and he has often repeated now and at other times industriously that many of the Captains have declared that they want nothing, and again, that they did lie ten days together at the Nore without demanding of any thing in the world but men, and of them they afterward, when they went away, the generalls themselves acknowledge that they have permitted several ships to carry supernumeraries, but that if we do not speede well, we must then play small games and spoile their trade in small parties. And so we parted, and I, meeting Creed in the Parke again, did take him by coach and to Islington, thinking to have met my Lady Pen and wife, but they were gone, so we eat and drank and away back, setting him down in Cheapside and I home, and there after a little while making of my tune, "It is decreed," to bed.

28th. Up, and to the office, where no more newes of the fleete than was yesterday. Here we sat and at noon to dinner to the Pope's Head, where my Lord Brouncker and his mistresse dined and Commissioner Pett, Dr. Charleton,¹ and myself, entertained with a venison pasty by Sir W. Warren. Here very pretty discourse of Dr. Charleton's, concerning Nature's fashioning every creature's teeth according to the food she intends them; and that men's, it is

¹ Walter Charleton, a native of Somersetshire, physician in ordinary to Charles II. during his exile and after the Restoration. He was a learned and voluminous author, and died in 1707.

plain, was not for flesh, but for fruit, and that he can at any time tell the food of a beast unknown by the teeth. My Lord Brouncker made one or two objections to it that creatures find their food proper for their teeth rather than that the teeth were fitted for the food, but the Doctor, I think, did well observe that creatures do naturally and from the first, before they have had experience to try, do love such a food rather than another, and that all children love fruit, and none brought to flesh, but against their wills at first. Thence with my Lord to his coach-house, and there put in his six horses into his coach, and he and I alone to Highgate. All the way going and coming I learning of him the principles of Optics, and what it is that makes an object seem less or bigger and how much distance do lessen an object and that it is not the eye at all, or any rule in optics, that can tell distance, but it is only an act of reason comparing of one mark with another, which did both please and inform me mightily. Being come thither we went to my Lord Lauderdale's house¹ to speake with him, about getting a man at Leith to joyne with one we employ to buy some prize goods for the King; we find him and his lady and some Scotch people at supper. Pretty odd company; though my Lord Brouncker tells me, my Lord Lauderdale is a man of mighty good reason and judgement. But at supper there

¹ Lord Lauderdale's house was on the eastern part of Highgate Hill, and is still known by that name. It was lately inhabited by Lord Westbury; it is now the residence of James Yates, Esq., of Liverpool.

played one of their servants upon the viallin some Scotch tunes only; several, and the best of their country, as they seemed to esteem them, by their praising and admiring them: but, Lord! the strangest ayre that ever I heard in my life, and all of one cast. But strange to hear my Lord Lauderdale say himself that he had rather hear a cat mew, than the best musique in the world; and the better the musique, the more sicke it makes him; and that of all instruments, he hates the lute most, and next to that, the bagpipe. Thence back with my Lord to his house, all the way good discourse, informing myself about optics still, and there left him and by a hackney home, and after writing three or four letters, home to supper and to bed.

29th (Lord's day). All the morning in my chamber making up my accounts in my book with my father and brother and stating them. Towards noon before sermon was done at church comes newes by a letter to Sir W. Batten, to my hand, of the late fight, which I sent to his house, he at church. But, Lord! with what impatience I staid till sermon was done, to know the issue of the fight, with a thousand hopes and fears and thoughts about the consequences of either. At last sermon is done and he came home, and the bells immediately rung soon as the church was done. But coming to Sir W. Batten to know the newes, his letter said nothing of it; but all the towne is full of a victory. By and by a letter from Sir W. Coventry tells me that we have the victory. Beat them into

the Weelings; had taken two of their great ships; but by the orders of the Generalls they are burned. This being, methought, but a poor result after the fighting of two so great fleetes, and four days having no tidings of them, I was still impatient; but could know no more. So away home to dinner, where Mr. Spong and Reeves dined with me by invitation. After dinner to our business of my microscope to be shown some of the observables of that, and then down to my office to looke in a darke room with my glasse and tube, and most excellently things appeared indeed beyond imagination. This was our worke all the afternoon trying the several glasses and several objects, among others, one of my plates where the lines appeared so very plain that it is not possible to thinke how plain it was done. Thence satisfied exceedingly with all this we home and to discourse many pretty things and then they away and I to Sir W. Batten, where the Lieutenant of the Tower¹ was, and Sir John Minnes, and the newes I find no more or less than what I had heard before; only that our Blue squadron, it seems, was pursued the most of the time, having more ships, a great many, than its number allotted to its share. Young Seamour is killed, the only captain slain. The Resolution burned; but, as they say, most of her crew and commander saved. This is all, only we keep the sea, which denotes a victory, or at least that we are not beaten; but no great matters to brag of, God knows.

¹ Sir John Robinson.

30th. Up, and did some business in my chamber, then by and by comes my boy's Lute-Master and I did direct him hereafter to begin to teach him to play his part on the Theorbo, which he will do, and that in a little time I believe. So to the office, and there with Sir W. Warren, with whom I have spent no time a good while. We set right our business of the Lighters, wherein I thinke I shall get 100*l*. At noon home to dinner and there did practise with Mercer one of my new tunes that I have got Dr. Childe to set me a base to and it goes prettily. Thence abroad to pay several debts at the end of the month, and so to Sir W. Coventry, at St. James's, where I find him in his new closett, which is very fine, and well supplied with handsome books. I find him speak very slightly of the late victory: dislikes their staying with the fleete up their coast, believing that the Dutch will come out in fourteen days, and then we with our unready fleete, by reason of some of the ships being maymed, shall be in bad condition to fight them upon their owne coast: is much dissatisfied with the great number of men, and their fresh demands of twenty-four victualling ships, they going out but the other day as full as they could stow. I asked him whether he did never desire an account of the number of supernumeraries, as I have done several ways, without which we shall be in great error about the victuals; he says he has done it again and again, and if any mistake should happen they must thanke themselves. He spoke slightly of the Duke of

Albemarle, saying, when De Ruyter came to give him a broadside — “Now,” says he, chewing of tobacco the while, “will this fellow come and give me two broadsides, and then he will run;” but it seems he held him to it two hours, till the Duke himself was forced to retreat to refit, and was towed off, and De Ruyter staid for him till he came back again to fight. One in the ship saying to the Duke, “Sir, methinks De Ruyter hath given us more than two broadsides;” — “Well,” says the Duke, “but you shall find him run by and by,” and so he did, says Sir W. Coventry; but after the Duke himself had been first made to fall off. The Resolution had all brass guns, being the same that Sir J. Lawson had in her in the Straights. It is observed, that the two fleetes were even in number to one ship. Thence home; and to sing with my wife and Mercer in the garden; and coming in I find my wife plainly dissatisfied with me, that I can spend so much time with Mercer, teaching her to sing, and could never take the pains with her. Which I acknowledge; but it is because that the girl do take musique mighty readily, and she do not, and musique is the thing of the world that I love most, and all the pleasure almost that I can now take. So to bed in some little discontent, but no words from me.

31st. Good friends in the morning and up to the office. While at table we were mightily joyed with newes brought by Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten of the death of De Ruyter, but when Sir W. Coventry came, he told us there was no such thing, which quite

dashed me again, though, God forgive me ! I was a little sorry in my heart before lest it might give occasion of too much glory to the Duke of Albemarle. Great bandying this day between Sir W. Coventry and my Lord Brouncker about Captain Cocke, which I am well pleased with, while I keepe from any open relyance on either side, but rather on Sir W. Coventry's. At noon had a haunch of venison boiled and a very good dinner besides, there dining with me on a sudden invitation the two mayden sisters, Bateliers, and another elder brother, a pretty man, understands and well discoursed, much pleased with his company. Having dined myself I rose to go to a Committee of Tangier, and did come thither time enough to meet Povy and Creed and none else. The Court being empty, the King being gone to Tunbridge, and the Duke of York a-hunting. I had some discourse with Povy, who is mightily discontented, I find, about his disappointments at Court ; and says, of all places, if there be hell, it is here. No faith, no truth, no love, nor any agreement between man and wife, nor friends. He would have spoke broader, but I put it off to another time ; and so parted. Povy discoursed with me about my Lord Peterborough's 50*l.* which his man did give me from him, the last year's salary I paid him, which he would have Povy pay him again ; but I have not taken it to myself yet, and therefore will most heartily return him, and mark him out for a coxcomb. Povy went down to Mr. Williamson's, and brought me up this extract out of the Flanders' letters

to-day come : — That Admiral Everson, and the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of Freezeland, with many captains and men, are slain ; that De Ruyter is safe, but lost 250 men out of his own ship ; but that he is in great disgrace, and Trump in better favour ; that Bankert's ship is burned, himself hardly escaping with a few men on board De Haes ; that fifteen captains are to be tried the seventh of August ; and that the hangman was sent from Flushing to assist the Council of Warr. How much of this is true, time will show. Then by water home, all the way reading the narrative of the last fight in order, it may be, to the making some marginal notes upon it. At the Old Swan found my Betty Michell at the doore, where I staid talking to her a pretty while, it being dusky, and kissed her and so away home and wrote my letters and then home to supper, where the brother and Mary Batelier are still and Mercer's two sisters. They have spent the time dancing this afternoon and we were very merry and then after supper into the garden and there walked and then home with them and then back again, my wife and I and the girle, and sang in the garden and then to bed. Colvill was with me this morning and to my great joy I could now have all my money in, that I have in the world. But the times being open again, I thinke it is best to keepe some of it abroad. Mighty well and end this month in content of mind and body. The publique matters looking more safe for the present than they did, and we having a victory over the Dutch just such as I

could have wished, and as the kingdom was fit to bear, enough to give us the name of conquerors, and leave us masters of the sea, but without any such great matters done as should give the Duke of Albemarle any honour at all, or give him cause to rise to his former insolence.

August 1st. Up betimes to the settling of my last month's accounts, and I bless God I find them very clear, and that I am worth 5,700*l.*, the most that ever my book did yet make out. So prepared to attend the Duke of York as usual, but Sir W. Pen, just as I was going out, comes home from Sheerness, and held me in discourse about publique business, till I came by coach too late to St. James's, and there find that every thing stood still, and nothing done for want of me. Thence walked over the Parke with Sir W. Coventry, who I clearly see is not thoroughly pleased with the late management of the fight, nor with any thing that the Generalls do ; only is glad to hear that De Ruyter is out of favour, and that this fight hath cost them 5,000 men, as they themselves do report. And it is a strange thing, as he observes, how now and then the slaughter runs on one hand ; there being 5,000 killed on theirs, and not above 400 or 500 killed and wounded on ours, and as many flag-officers on theirs as ordinary captains in ours ; these being Everson, and the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of Freezeland on theirs, and Seamour, Martin, and ———, on ours. I left him going to Chappell, it being the common fast day, and the Duke of York at Chappell.

So home, and there much pleased with my wife's drawing to-day in her pictures.

2nd. To the office, where we sat and in discourse at the table with Sir W. Batten, I was obliged to tell him it was an untruth, which did displease him mightily, and parted at noon very angry with me. At home find Lovett, who showed me my crucifix, which will be very fine when done. He dined with me and Balty's wife, who is in great pain for her husband, not hearing of him since the fight; but I understand he was not in it, going hence too late, and I am glad of it. Hence by coach to see my Lord Brouncker, who it seems was not well yesterday, but being come thither, I find his coach ready to carry him abroad, but Tom, his footman, whatever the matter was, was lothe to desire me to come in, but I walked a great while in the Piazza till I was going away, but by and by my Lord himself comes down and coldly received me. So I soon parted, having enough for my over officious folly in troubling myself to visit him, and I am apt to think that he was fearfull that my coming was out of design to see how he spent his time rather than to enquire after his health. So parted, and he carried me down to the New Exchange Stairs, and there I took water. So home, and then down to Woolwich, reading and making an end of the Rivall Ladys, and I find it a very pretty play. At Woolwich, it being now night, I find my wife and Mercer, and Mr. Batelier and Mary there, and a supper getting ready. So I staid, in some pain, it being late, and post night. So

supped and merrily home, but it was twelve at night first. However, sent away some letters, and home to bed.

3rd. To the office, where Sir W. Batten and I sat to contract for some fireships. I there close all the morning. At noon home to dinner, and then abroad to Sir Philip Warwick at White Hall about Tangier Quarter's tallys, and there had some serious discourse touching money, and the case of the Navy, wherein all I could get of him was that we had the full understanding of the treasure as much as my Lord Treasurer himself, and knew what he can do, and that whatever our case is, more money cannot be got till the Parliament. So talked of getting an account ready as soon as we could to give the Parliament, and so very melancholy parted. So home, and busy till night, and then to Sir W. Pen, with my wife, to sit and chat, and a small supper, and home to bed. The death of Everson, and the report of our success, beyond expectation, in the killing of so great a number of men, hath raised the estimation of the late victory considerably; but it is only among fools: for all that was but accidental. But this morning, getting Sir W. Pen to read over the Narrative with me, he did sparingly, yet plainly, say that we might have intercepted their Zealand squadron coming home, if we had done our parts; and more, that we might have spooned¹ before

¹ To spoom, or spoon, is to go right before the wind, without any sail. — *Sea Dictionary*, 1708.

the wind as well as they, and have overtaken their ships in the pursuit, in all the while.

4th. Mr. Cooke dined with us, who is lately come from Hinchinbroke. The family all well. This evening, Sir W. Pen came into the garden, and walked with me, and told me that he had certain notice that at Flushing they are in great distraction. De Ruyter dares not come on shore for fear of the people; nor any body open their houses or shops for fear of the tumult: which is a very good hearing.

5th (Lord's day). To St. James's, and there had a meeting before the Duke of York, complaining of want of money, but nothing done to any purpose for which we ask, so that now our advices to him signify nothing. Here Sir W. Coventry did acquaint the Duke of York how the world do discourse of the ill method of our books, and that we would consider how to answer any enquiry which shall be made after our practice therein, which will I think concern the Controller most, but I shall make it a memento to myself. Thence walked to the Parish Church to have one look upon Betty Michell, and so away homeward by water, and landed to go to the church, where, I believe, Mrs. Horsely goes, by Merchant-tailors' Hall, and there I find in the pulpit Elborough,¹ my old schoolfellow and a simple rogue, and yet I find him preaching a very good sermon, and in as right a parson-like manner, and in good manner too, as I have heard any body;

¹ See 2nd September, 1666.

and the church very full, which is a surprising consideration. So home, and had a good dinner, and after dinner with my wife, and Mercer, and Jane by water, all the afternoon up as high as Mortlake with great pleasure, and a fine day, reading over the second part of the Siege of Rhodes, with great delight. We landed and walked at Barne-elves, and then at the Neat Houses I landed and bought a millon, and we did also land and eat and drink at Wandsworth, and so to the Old Swan, and thence walked home. It being a mighty fine cool evening, my wife and I spent an hour in the garden talking of our living in the country, when I shall be turned out of the office, as I fear the Parliament may find faults enough with the office to remove us all, and I am joyed to think in how good a condition I am to retire thither, and have wherewith very well to subsist. Nan, at Sir W. Pen's, lately married to one Markeham, a kinsman of Sir W. Pen's, a pretty wench she is.

6th. To the office a while, and then by water to my Lady Montagu's, at Westminster, and there visited my Lord Hinchinbroke, newly come from Hinchinbroke, and find him a mighty sober gentleman, to my great content. In Fenchurch-streete met with Mr. Battersby; says he, "Do you see Dan Rawlinson's"

* In the church of St. Dionis Backchurch, amongst other memorials of different members of his family, is a monument on a pillar for Daniel Rawlinson, the person mentioned in the text. He was a London wine merchant, descended from the Graisdals of Lancashire, born in this parish, and died in 1679, aged 65. He was the father of Sir Thomas Rawlinson, President of Bridewell Hospital, and Lord Mayor in 1706; two of whose sons, Thomas

door shut up?" (which I did, and wondered.) "Why," says he, "after all the sickness, and himself spending all the last year in the country, one of his men is now dead of the plague, and his wife and one of his mayds sicke, and himself shut up;" which troubles me mightily. So home; and there do hear also from Mrs. Sarah Daniel, that Greenwich is at this time much worse than ever it was, and Deptford too: and she told us that they believed all the towne would leave the towne and come to London; which is now the receptacle of all the people from all infected places. God preserve us! After dinner in comes Mrs. Knipp, and I being at the office went home to her, and there I sat and talked with her, it being the first time of her being here since her being brought to bed. I very pleasant with her; but I perceive my wife hath no great pleasure in her being here, she not being pleased with my kindnesse to her. However, we talked and sang, and were very pleasant. By and by comes Mr. Pierce and his wife, the first time she also hath been here since her lying-in, both having been brought to bed of boys, and both of them dead. And here we talked, and were pleasant, only my wife in a chagrin humour, she not being pleased with my kindnesse to either of them, and by and by she fell

and Richard, LL.D., were well known in the literary world as eminent antiquaries and book collectors, though their extensive libraries were ultimately consigned to the hammer. Richard, who had been educated at St. John's College, Oxford, will long be remembered as a munificent benefactor to that university. — See MALCOLM'S *London*, vol. iii. p. 438, edit. 1803.

into some silly discourse wherein I checked her, which made her mighty pettish, and discoursed mighty offensively to Mrs. Pierce, which did displease me, but I would make no words, but put the discourse by as much as I could (it being about a report that my wife said was made of herself and meant by Mrs. Pierce, that she was grown a gallant, when she had but so few suits of clothes these two or three years, and a great deale of that silly discourse), and by and by Mrs. Pierce did tell her that such discourse should not trouble her, for there went as bad on other people, and particularly of herself at this end of the towne, meaning my wife, that she was crooked, which was quite false, which my wife had the wit not to acknowledge herself to be the speaker of, though she has said it twenty times. But by this means we had little pleasure in their visit; however, Knipp and I sang, and then I offered them to carry them home, and to take my wife with me, but she would not go: so I with them, leaving my wife in a very ill humour, and very slighting to them, which vexed me. However, I would not be removed from my civility to them, but sent for a coach, and went with them; and, in our way, Knipp saying that she came out of doors without a dinner to us, I took them to Old Fish Streete, to the very house and woman where I kept my wedding dinner,¹ where I never was since, and there I did give

¹ The tavern was evidently selected to mark Pepys's disgust at his wife's ill-humour; but he probably did not venture to mention the circumstance on his return home.

them a jole of salmon, and what else was to be had. And here we talked of the ill-humour of my wife, which I did excuse as much as I could, and they seemed to admit of it, but did both confess they wondered at it; but from thence to other discourse, and among others to that of my Lord Brouncker and Mrs. Williams, who it seems do speake mightily hardly of me for my not treating them, and not giving her something to her closett, and do speake worse of my wife, and dishonourably, but it is what she do of all the world, so I value it not. But they told me how poorly my Lord carried himself the other day to his kinswoman, Mrs. Howard, and was displeased because she called him uncle to a little gentlewoman that is there with him, which he will not admit of; for no relation is to be challenged from others to a lord, and did treat her thereupon very widely and ungentlely. Knipp tells me also that my Lord keeps another woman besides Mrs. Williams; and that, when I was there the other day, there was a great hubbub in the house, Mrs. Williams being fallen sicke, because my Lord was gone to his other mistresse, making her wait for him till his return from the other mistresse; and a great deale of do there was about it; and Mrs. Williams swounded at it, at the very time when I was there and wondered at the reason of my being received so negligently. I set them both at home, Knipp at her house, her husband being at the doore; and glad she was to be found to have staid out so long with me and Mrs. Pierce, and none else; and

Mrs. Pierce at her house, and am mightily pleased with the discretion of her during the simplicity and offensiveness of my wife's discourse this afternoon. So I home, calling on W. Joyce in my coach, and staid and talked a little with him, who is the same silly prating fellow that ever he was, and so home, and there find my wife mightily out of order, and reproaching of Mrs. Pierce and Knipp as wenches, and I know not what. But I did give her no words to offend her, and quietly let all pass, and so to bed without any good looke or words to or from my wife.

7th. To the office, where we sat all the morning, and home to dinner; being pretty good friends with my wife again, no angry words passing; but she finding fault with Mercer, suspecting that it was she that must have told Mary, that must have told her mistresse of my wife's saying that she was crooked. But the truth is, she is jealous of my kindnesse to her. After dinner, to the office, and did a great deale of business. In the evening comes Mr. Reeves, with a twelve-foote glasse, so I left the office and home, where I met Mr. Batelier with my wife, in order to their going to-morrow, by agreement, to Bow to see a dancing meeting. But Lord! to see how soon I could conceive evil fears and thoughts concerning them; so Reeves and I and they up to the top of the house, and there we endeavoured to see the moon, and Saturn and Jupiter; but the heavens proved cloudy, and so we lost our labour, having taken pains to get things together, in order to the managing of our long glasse.

I receive fresh intelligence that Deptford and Greenwich are now afresh exceedingly afflicted with the sickness more than ever.

8th. Discoursed with Mr. Hooke, whom I met in the streete, about the nature of sounds, and he did make me understand the nature of musically sounds made by strings, mighty prettily; and told me that having come to a certain number of vibrations proper to make any tone, he is able to tell how many strokes a fly makes with her wings (those flies that hum in their flying) by the note that it answers to in musique, during their flying. That, I suppose, is a little too much refined; but his discourse in general of sound was mighty fine. To St. James's, where we attended with the rest of my fellows on the Duke, whom I found with two or three patches upon his nose and about his right eye, which came from his being struck with the bough of a tree the other day in his hunting; and it is a wonder it did not strike out his eye. After we had done our business with him, which is now but little, the want of money being such as leaves us but little to do but to answer complaints of the want thereof, and nothing to offer to the Duke, the representing of our want of money being now become useless, I to the Exchequer about my Tangier Quarter's Tallys, and so by coach home to Bow, to my Lady Pooley's,¹ where my wife was with Mr. Batelier and his sisters, and there I found a noble supper, and every

¹ Wife of Sir Edmund Pooley, mentioned before.

thing exceeding pleasant, and their mother, Mrs. Batelier, a fine woman, but mighty passionate — their company mighty innocent and pleasant, we having never been here before. About ten o'clock we rose from table, and sang a song, and so home in two coaches (Mr. Batelier and his sister Mary and my wife and I in one, and Mercer alone in the other); and after being examined at Allgate, whether we were husbands and wives, home. I find Reeves there, it being a mighty fine bright night, and so upon my leads, though very sleepy, till one in the morning, looking on the moon and Jupiter, with the twelve-foote glasse and another of six foote, that he hath brought with him to-night, and the sights mighty pleasant, and one of the glasses I will buy, it being very usefull. So to bed mighty sleepy, but with much pleasure. Reeves lying at my house; and mighty proud I am (and ought to be thankfull to God Almighty) that I am able to have a spare bed for my friends.

9th. To the office. Here we sat, but to little purpose, nobody coming at us but to ask for money, not to offer us any goods. At noon home to dinner, mightily pleased with a Virgin's head that my wife is now doing of. In the evening to Lombard-streete, about money, to enable me to pay Sir G. Carteret's 3000*l*., which he hath lodged in my hands, in behalf of his son and my lady Jemimah, towards their portion, which, I thank God, I am able to do at a minute's warning. In my way I inquired, and find Mrs. Rawlinson is dead of the sickness, and her mayde con-

tinues mighty ill. He¹ himself is got out of the house. I met also with Mr. Evelyn in the streete, who tells me the sad condition at this very day at Deptford for the plague, and more at Deale (within his precinct as one of the Commissioners for sick and wounded seamen), that the towne is almost quite depopulated.

10th. To the Exchange, where little newes but what is in the Book, and, among other things, of a man sent up for by the King and Council for saying that Sir W. Coventry did give intelligence to the Dutch of all our matters here. Thence to Sympson, the joyner, and I am mightily pleased with what I saw of my presses for my books, which he is making for me. So homeward, and hear in Fenchurch-streete, that now the mayde also is dead at Mr. Rawlinson's; so that there are three dead in all, the wife, a man-servant, and mayde-servant. After dinner to the office, and anon with my wife and sister Balty abroad, left them in Paternoster Row, while Creed and I to Westminster; and leaving him in the Strand, I to my Lord Chancellor's, and did very little business, and so away home by water, with more and more pleasure, I every time reading over my Lord Bacon's *Faber Fortunæ*. So home, and there did a little business, and so to supper, and to bed. Pleased to hear of Mrs. Barbara Sheldon's good fortune, who is like to have Mr. Wood's son, the mast-maker, a very rich man, and to be married speedily, she being mighty fine upon it.

¹ Her husband, Daniel Rawlinson.

11th. Up and to the office. Then to Colvill's, and with him did come to an agreement about my 2600*l.* assignment on the Exchequer, which I had of Sir W. Warren; and, to my great joy, I think I shall get above 100*l.* by it, but I must leave it to be finished on Monday. This afternoon I hear as if we had landed some men upon the Dutch coasts, but I believe it is but a foolery either in the report or the attempt.

12th (Lord's Day). Up and to my chamber, where busy all the morning, and my thoughts very much upon the manner of my removal of my closett things the next weeke into my present musique room, if I find I can spare or get money to furnish it. By and by, in comes Betty Michell and her husband, and so to dinner, I mightily pleased with their company. In the evening, all parted, and I and my wife up to her closett to examine her kitchen accounts, and there I took occasion to fall out with her for her buying a laced handkercher and pinner without my leave. Though the thing is not much, yet I would not permit her to begin to do so, lest worse should follow. From this we began both to be angry, and so continued till bed, and did not sleep friends.

13th. Up, without being friends with my wife, nor great enemies, being both quiet and silent. To Paul's Church-yarde, to treat with a bookbinder, to come and gild the backs of all my books, to make them handsome, to stand in my new presses, when they come. So back again to Colvill's, and there did end our treaty, to my full content, about my Exchequer

assignment of 2,600*l.* of Sir W. Warren's, for which I gave him 170*l.* to stand to the hazard of receiving it. So I shall get clear by it 230*l.*, which is a very good jobb. God be praised for it ! Having done with him, then he and I took coach, and I carried him to Westminster, and there set him down, in our way speaking of several things. I find him a bold man to say anything of anybody, and finds fault with our great ministers of state that nobody looks after anything ; and I thought it dangerous to be free with him, for I do not think he can keep counsel, because he blates to me what has passed between other people and him. Thence I to St. James's, and there missed Mr. Coventry ; but taking up Mr. Robinson in my coach, I towards London, and there in the way met Sir W. Coventry, and followed him to Whitehall, where a little discourse very kind, and thence to Stokes the goldsmith, and sent him to and again to get me 1000*l.* in gold ; and so home to dinner, my wife and I friends, without any words almost of last night. After dinner, I abroad to Stokes, and there did receive 1000*l.* worth in gold, paying 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ *l.* and 19*l.* for others exchange. Home with them, and there to my office to business, and anon home in the evening to supper and to bed.

14th. (Thanksgiving day.¹) Up, and comes Mr. Foley and his man, with a box of a great variety of carpenter's and joyner's tooles, which I had bespoke, which please me mightily ; but I will have more. To

¹ In honour of the naval success.

White Hall, where I found them at Chappell, and met with Povy, who tells me how mad my letter makes my Lord Peterborough, and what a furious letter he hath writ to me in answer, though it is not come yet. This did trouble me ; for though there be no reason, yet to have a nobleman's mouth open against a man may do a man hurt ; so I endeavoured to have found him out and spoke with him, but could not. So to the chapel, and heard a piece of the Dean of Westminster's¹ sermon, and a special good anthemne before the king, after a sermon, and then home by coach with Captain Cocke, who is in pain about his hempe, of which he says he has bought great quantities, and would gladly be upon good terms with us for it, wherein I promise to assist him. So we light at the 'Change, where, after a small turn or two, taking no pleasure now-a-days to be there, because of answering questions that would be asked there which I cannot answer, home ; and after dinner, with my wife and Mercer to the Beare-garden,² where I have not been, I think, of many years, and saw some good sport of the bull's tossing of the dogs : one into the very boxes. But it is a very rude and nasty pleasure. We had a great many hectors in the same box with us (and one very fine

¹ John Dolben, afterwards Archbishop of York. The sermon was printed.

² The Bear Garden was situated on Bankside, close to the precinct of the Clinke Liberty, and very near to the old Palace of the bishops of Winchester. The name still exists in a street or lane at the foot of Southwark Bridge. This old English, but barbarous sport, which had been suppressed by the Puritans, was revived at the Restoration. There are many particulars about the Bear Garden in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" for 1833, part i. p. 483: part ii. p. 507.

went into the pit, and played his dog for a wager, which was a strange sport for a gentleman), where they drank wine, and drank Mercer's health first, which I pledged with my hat off. Thence home, well enough satisfied, however, with the variety of this afternoon's exercise ; and so I to my chamber, till in the evening our company came to supper. We had invited to a venison pasty Mr. Batelier and his sister Mary, Mrs. Mercer, her daughter Anne, Mr. Le Brun, and W. Hewer ; and so we supped, and very merry. And then about nine o'clock to Mrs. Mercer's gate, where the fire and boys expected us, and her son had provided abundance of serpents and rockets ; and there mighty merry (my Lady Pen and Pegg going thither with us, and Nan Wright), till about twelve at night, flinging our fireworks, and burning one another and the people over the way. And at last our businesses being most spent, we into Mrs. Mercer's, and there mighty merry, smutting one another with candle grease and soot, till most of us were like devils. And that being done, then we broke up, and to my house ; and there I made them drink, and upstairs we went, and then fell into dancing (W. Batelier dancing well), and dressing him and I and one Mr. Banister (who with his wife came over also with us) like women ; and Mercer put on a suit of Tom's, like a boy, and mighty mirth we had, and Mercer danced a jig ; and Nan Wright and my wife and Pegg Pen put on perriwigs. Thus we spent till three or four in the morning, mighty merry ; and then parted, and to bed.

15th. Mighty sleepy; slept till past eight of the clock, and was called up by a letter from Sir W. Coventry, which, among other things, tells me how we have burned one hundred and sixty ships of the enemy within the Fly. I up, and with all possible haste, and in pain for fear of coming late, it being our day of attending the Duke of York to St. James's, where they are full of the particulars; how they are generally good merchant ships, some of them laden and supposed rich ships. We spent five fire-ships upon them. We landed on the Schelling (Sir Philip Howard with some men, and Holmes, I think, with others, about 1000 in all), and burned a town; and so came away. By and by the Duke of York with his books showed us the very place and manner, and that it was not our design and expectation to have done this, but only to have landed on the Fly, and burned some of their stores; but being come in, we spied those ships, and with our long boats, one by one, fired them, our ships running all aground, it being so shoal water. We were led to this by, it seems, a renegado captain of the Hollanders, who found himself ill used by De Ruyter for his good service, and so came over to us, and hath done us good service; so that now we trust him, and he himself did go on this expedition. The service is very great, and our joys as great for it. All this will make the Duke of Albemarle in repute again, I doubt, though there is nothing of his in this. But, Lord! to see what succeſſe do, whether with or without reason, and making

a man seem wise, notwithstanding never so late demonstration of the profoundest folly in the world. Thence walked over the Parke with Sir W. Coventry, in our way talking of the unhappy state of our office ; and I took an opportunity to let him know, that though the backwardness of all our matters of the office may be well imputed to the known want of money, yet, perhaps, there might be personal and particular failings ; and that I did, therefore, depend still upon his promise of telling me whenever he finds any ground for any defect or neglect on my part, which he promised me still to do ; and that there was none he saw, nor, indeed, says he, is there room now-a-days to find fault with any particular man, while we are in this condition for money. This, methought, did not so well please me ; but, however, I am glad I have said this, thereby giving myself good grounds to believe that at this time he did not want an occasion to have said what he pleased to me, if he had had anything in his mind, which by his late distance and silence I have feared. But then again I am to consider he is grown a very great man, much greater than he was, and so must keep more distance ; and, next, that the condition of our office will not afford me occasion of shewing myself so active and deserving as heretofore ; and, lastly, the muchness of his business cannot suffer him to mind it, or give him leisure to reflect on anything, or shew the freedom and kindness that he used to do. But I think I have done something considerable to my satisfaction in doing

this ; and that if I do but my duty remarkably from this time forward, and not neglect it, as I have of late done, and minded my pleasures, I may be as well as ever I was. Thence to the Exchequer, but did nothing, they being all gone from their offices ; and so to the Old Exchange, where the towne full of the good newes, but I did not stay to tell or hear any, but home, my head akeing and drowsy, and to dinner. So down the river, reading "The Adventures of Five Houres," which the more I read the more I admire. So down below Greenwich, but the wind and tide being against us, I back again to Deptford, and did a little business there, and thence walked to Redriffe ; and so home, and to the office a while. In the evening comes W. Batelier and his sister, and my wife, and fair Mrs. Turner into the garden, and there we walked, and then with my Lady Pen and Pegg in a-doors, and eat and were merry, and so pretty late broke up, and to bed. The guns of the Tower going off, and there being bonfires also in the street for this late good successe.

16th. Up, having slept well, and after entering my Journal, to the office, where all the morning, but of late Sir W. Coventry has not come to us, he being discouraged from the little we have to do but to answer the clamours of people for money. At noon home, and there dined with me my Lady Pen only and W. Hewer at a haunch of venison boiled, where pretty merry, only my wife vexed me a little about demanding money to go with my Lady Pen to the

Exchange to lay out. I to the office, where all the afternoon doing much business; but here I had a most eminent experience of the evil of being behind-hand in business. I was the most backward to begin any thing, and would fain have framed to myself an occasion of going abroad, and should, I doubt, have done it, but some business coming in, one after another, kept me there, and I fell to the ridding away of a great deale of business, and when my hand was in it was so pleasing a sight to see my papers disposed of, and letters answered, which troubled my book and table, that I could have continued there with delight all night long, and did till called away by my Lady Pen and Pegg and my wife to their house to eat with them; and there I went, and exceeding merry, there being Nan Wright, now Mrs. Markham, and sits at table with my Lady. So mighty merry, home and to bed. This day Sir W. Batten did show us at the table a letter from Sir T. Allen, which says that we have taken ten or twelve ships (since the late great expedition of burning their ships and towne), laden with hempe, flax, tarr, deales, &c. This was good newes; but by and by comes in Sir G. Carteret, and he asked us with full mouth what we would give for good newes. Says Sir W. Batten, "I have better than you, for a wager." They laid sixpence, and we that were by were to give sixpence to him that told the best newes. So Sir W. Batten told his of the ten or twelve ships. Sir G. Carteret did then tell us that upon the newes of the burning of the ships and towne the common

people of Amsterdam did besiege De Witt's house, and he was forced to flee to the Prince of Orange, who is gone to Cleve to the marriage of his sister. This we concluded all the best newes, and my Lord Brouncker and myself did give Sir G. Carteret our sixpence a-piece, which he did give Mr. Smith to give the poor. Thus we made ourselves mighty merry.

17th. Up and betimes with Captain Erwin down by water to Woolwich. Being come thither I did some business there and at the Rope Yarde, and had a piece of bride-cake sent me by Mrs. Barbary¹ into the boate after me, she being here at her uncle's, with her husband, Mr. Wood's son, the mast maker, and mighty nobly married, they say, she was, very fine, and he very rich, a strange fortune for so odd a looked mayde, though her hands and body be good, and nature very good, I think. Back with Captain Erwin, discoursing about the East Indys, where he hath often been. And among other things he tells me how the King of Syam seldom goes out without thirty or forty thousand people with him, and not a word spoke, nor a hum or cough in the whole company to be heard. He tells me the punishment frequently there for malefactors is cutting off the crowne of their head, which they do very dexterously, leaving their brains bare, which kills them presently. He told me what I remember he hath once done heretofore: that every

¹ Mrs. Barbara Sheldon.

body is to lie flat down at the coming by of the King, and nobody to look upon him upon pain of death. And that he and his fellows, being strangers, were invited to see the sport of taking of a wild elephant, and they did only kneel, and look toward the King. Their druggerman¹ did desire them to fall down, for otherwise he should suffer for their contempt of the King. The sport being ended, a messenger comes from the King, which the druggerman thought had been to have taken away his life; but it was to enquire how the strangers liked the sport. The druggerman answered that they did cry it up to be the best that ever they saw, and that they never heard of any Prince so great in every thing as this King. The messenger being gone back, Erwin and his company asked their druggerman what he had said, which he told them. "But why," say they, "would you say that without our leave, it being not true?" "It is no matter for that," says he, "I must have said it, or have been hanged, for our King do not live by meat, nor drink, but by having great lyes told him." In our way back we come by a little vessel that came into the river this morning, and says she left the fleete in Sole Bay, and that she hath not heard (she belonging to Sir W. Jenings, in the fleete) of any such prizes taken as the ten or twelve I inquired about, and said by Sir W. Batten yesterday to be taken, so I fear it is not true. So to Westminster, and there, to my great content,

¹ Dragoman.

did receive my 2,000*l.* of Mr. Spicer's telling, which I was to receive of Colvill, and brought it home with me to my house by water, and there I find one of my new presses for my books brought home, which pleases me mightily. So, also, do my wife's progresse upon her head that she is making. So to dinner, and thence abroad with my wife, leaving her at Unthanks'; I to White Hall, waiting at the Council door till it rose, and there spoke with Sir W. Coventry, who and I much fear our Victuallers, they having missed the fleete in their going. But Sir W. Coventry says it is not our fault, but theirs, if they have not left ships to secure them. This he spoke in a chagrin sort of way, methought. After a little more discourse of several businesses, I away homeward, having in the gallery the good fortune to see Mrs. Stewart, who is grown a little too tall, but is a woman of most excellent features. The narrative of the late expedition¹ in burning the ships is in print, and makes it a great thing, and I hope it is so. So took up my wife and home, and I to the office. Then to Sir W. Batten's, where Sir Richard Ford did, very understandingly, methought, give us an account of the originall of the Hollands Bank, and the nature of it, and how they do never give any interest at all to any person that brings in their money, though what is brought in upon the public faith interest is given by the State for. The unsafe condition of a Bank under a Monarch,

¹ See 15th August, *ante*.

and the little safety to a Monarch to have any; or Corporation alone (as London in answer to Amsterdam) to have so great a wealth or credit, it is, that makes it hard to have a Bank here. And as to the former, he did tell us how it sticks in the memory of most merchants how the late King (when by the war between Holland and France and Spayne all the bullion of Spayne was brought hither, one-third of it to be coyned; and indeed it was found advantageous to the merchant to coyne most of it), was persuaded in a strait by my Lord Cottington¹ to seize upon the money in the Tower, which, though in a few days the merchants concerned did prevail to get it released, yet the thing will never be forgot. So home to supper and to bed, understanding this evening, since I came home, that our Victuallers are all come into the fleete, which is good newes. Sir John Minnes came home to-night not well, from Chatham, where he hath been at a pay, holding it at Upnor Castle, because of the plague so much in the towne of Chatham. He hath, they say, got an ague, being so much on the water.

18th. All the morning at my office; then to the

¹ Sir Francis Cottington, a younger son of Philip Cottington, of Godmanston, Somerset, was created by Charles I. Lord Cottington, of Hanworth. He became successively one of the Clerks of the Council, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Ambassador into Spain, and Lord Treasurer of England under the two elder Stuarts. He died at Valladolid in 1653, *s. p.*, and his body was brought to England and interred under a stately monument in Westminster Abbey, erected by Charles Cottington, his nephew and heir. See 6th December, 1667, for an account of his disinheriting a nephew for a foolish speech.

Exchange ; so home, calling at my little mercer's in Lumbarde Streete, who hath the pretty wench, like the old Queene, and there cheapened some stuffs to hang my roome, that I intend to turn into a closett. After dinner comes Creed to discourse with me about several things of Tangier concernments and accounts, among others starts the doubt, which I was formerly aware of, but did wink at it, whether or no Lanyon and his partners be not paid for more than they should be, which he presses, so that it did a little discompose me ; but, however, I do think no harm will arise thereby. He gone, I to the office, and there very late, very busy, and so home to supper and to bed.

19th (Lord's Day). Up and to my chamber, and there began to draw out fair and methodically my accounts of Tangier, in order to shew them to the Lords. But by and by comes by agreement Mr. Reeves, and after him Mr. Spong, and all day with them, both before and after dinner, till ten o'clock at night, upon opticke enquiries, he bringing me a frame he closes on, to see how the rays of light do cut one another, and in a darke room with smoake, which is very pretty. He did also bring a lanthorne with pictures in glasse, to make strange things appear on a wall, very pretty. We did also at night see Jupiter and his girdle and satellites, very fine, with my twelve-foote glasse, but could not Saturne, he being very dark. Spong and I had also several fine discourses upon the globes this afternoon, particularly why the fixed stars do not rise and set at the same houre all

the yeare long, which he could not demonstrate, nor I neither, the reason of. So, it being late, after supper they away home. . But it vexed me to understand no more from Reeves and his glasses touching the nature and reason of the several refractions of the several figured glasses, he understanding the acting part, but not one bit the theory, nor can make any body understand it, which is a strange dullness, methinks.

20th. Waked this morning about six o'clock, with a violent knocking at Sir J. Minnes's doore, to call up Mrs. Hammon, crying out that Sir J. Minnes is a-dying. I saw him on Saturday, after his fit of the ague, and then he was pretty lusty. Which troubles me mightily, for he is a very good, harmless, honest gentleman, though not fit for business. Up, and to Deptford by water, reading "Othello, Moore of Venice," which I ever heretofore esteemed a mighty good play, but having so lately read "The Adventures of Five Houres," it seems a mean thing. So home, and all the afternoon upon my Tangier accounts, getting Tom Wilson to help me in writing as I read; and I find myself right to a farthing in an account of 127,000*l*. This afternoon I visited Sir J. Minnes, who, poor man, is much impatient by these few days' sickness, and I fear indeed it will kill him.

21st. Up, and to the office, where much business and Sir W. Coventry there, who of late has wholly left us, most of our business being about money, to which we can give no answer, which makes him weary of coming to us. He made an experiment to-day, by

taking up a heape of petitions that lay upon the table. They proved seventeen in number, and found them thus: one for money for reparation for clothes, four desired to have tickets made out to them, and the other twelve were for money. Dined at home, and sister Balty with us. My wife snappish because I denied her money to lay out this afternoon; however, good friends again, and by coach set them down at the New Exchange, and I to the Exchequer, and there find my business of my tallys in good forwardness. So away, and taking up my wife, went home-wards. I 'light and to my mercer's in Lumbard Streete, and there agreed for our purple serge for my closett. So home and late at the office, and then home, and there found Mr. Batelier and his sister Mary, and we sat chatting a great while, talking of witches and spirits, and he told me of his own knowledge, being with some others at Bourdeaux, making a bargain with another man at a tavernne for some clarets, they did hire a fellow to thunder (which he had the art of doing upon a deale board) and to rain and hail, that is, make the noise of, so as did give them a pretence of undervaluing their merchants' wines, by saying this thunder would spoil and turne them. Which was so reasonable to the merchant, that he did abate two pistolls per ton for the wine in belief of that.

22nd. I to St. James's, and there with the Duke of York. I had opportunity of much talk with Sir W. Pen to-day (he being newly come from the fleete);

and he do much undervalue the honour that is given to the conduct of the late business of Holmes in burning the ships and town,¹ saying it was a great thing indeed, and of great profit to us in being of great losse to the enemy, but that it was wholly a business of chance, and no conduct employed in it. I find Sir W. Pen do hold up his head at this time higher than ever he did in his life. I perceive he do look after Sir J. Minnes's place if he dies, and though I love him not nor do desire to have him in, yet I do think he is the first man in England for it. To the Exchequer, and there received my tallys, and paid my fees in good order, and so home, and there find Mrs. Knipp and my wife going to dinner. She tells me my song of "Beauty Retire" is mightily cried up, which I am not a little proud of; and do think I have done "It is Decreed" better, but I have not finished it. My closett is doing by upholsters, which I am pleased with, but fear my purple will be too sad for that melancholy roome. After dinner and doing something at the office, I with my wife, Knipp, and Mercer, by coach to Moorefields, and there saw "Polichinello," which pleases me mightily. Thence carried Knipp home, calling at the Cocke alehouse at the doore and drank, and so home, and there find Reeves, and so up to look upon the stars, and do like my glasse very

¹ The town burned (see 15th August, *ante*) was Brandaris, a place of 1,000 houses, on the isle of Schelling; the ships lay between that island and the Fly (*i.e.* Vlieland), the adjoining island. This attack probably provoked that by the Dutch on Chatham. See Pepys's remarks, 30th June, 1667, *post*.

well, and did even with him for it and a little perspective and the Lanthorne that shows tricks, altogether costing me 9*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.* So to bed.

23rd. Sir W. Coventry sent me word that the Dutch fleete is certainly abroad ; and so we are to hasten all we have to send to our fleete with all speed. But, Lord ! to see how my Lord Brouncker undertakes the despatch of the fire-ships, when he is no more fit for it than a porter ; and all the while Sir W. Pen, who is the most fit, is unwilling to displease him, and do not look after it ; and so the King's work is like to be well done. At noon dined at home, Lovett with us ; but he do not please me in his business, for he keeps things long in hand, and his paper do not hold so good as I expected — the varnish wiping off in a little time — a very sponge ; and I doubt by his discourse he is an odde kind of fellow, and, in plain terms, a very rogue. He gone, I to the office (having seen and liked the upholsters' work in my roome — which they have almost done), and there late, and in the evening find Mr. Batelier and his sister there, and then we talked and eat and were merry, and so we parted late, and to bed.

24th. Up, and dispatched several businesses at home in the morning, and then comes Sympson to set up my other new presses¹ for my books, and so he and

¹ These presses still exist, and, according to Pepys's wish, they are placed in the second court of Magdalene College in a room which they exactly fit, and the books are arranged in the presses just as they were when presented to the college. (M. B.)

I fell in to the furnishing of my new closett, and taking out the things out of my old, and I kept him with me all day, and he dined with me, and so all the afternoon till it was quite darke hanging things, that is my maps and pictures and draughts, and setting up my books, and as much as we could do, to my most extraordinary satisfaction ; so that I think it will be as noble a closett as' any man hath, and light enough — though, indeed, it would be better to have had a little more light. He gone, my wife and I to talk and supper, and then to setting right my Tangier accounts and enter my Journall, and then to bed with great content in my day's worke. This afternoon comes Mrs. Barbary Sheldon, now Mrs. Wood, to see my wife : I was so busy I would not see her. But she came, it seems, mighty rich in rings and fine clothes, and like a lady, and says she is matched mighty well, at which I am very glad, but wonder at her good fortune and the folly of her husband, and vexed at myself for not paying her the respect of seeing her, but I will come out of her debt another time.

25th. All the morning at the office. After dinner up to my new closett, which pleases me mightily ; and then to the office, and then wrote my letters, and then in mighty good humour home to supper and to bed.

26th (Lord's Day). Up betimes, and to the finishing the setting things in order in my new closett, which I did thoroughly by the time sermon was done at church, to my exceeding joy, only I was a little disturbed with newes my Lord Brouncker brought me,

that we are to attend the King at White Hall this afternoon, and that it is about a complaint from the Generalls against us. Sir W. Pen dined by invitation with me, his Lady and daughter being gone into the country. We very merry. After dinner to my office, whither I sent for Mr. Lewes and instructed myself fully in the business of the Victualling, to enable me to answer in the matter; and then Sir W. Pen and I by coach to White Hall, and there staid till the King and Cabinet were met in the Green Chamber, and then we were called in; and there the King begun with me, to hear how the victualls of the fleete stood. I did in a long discourse tell him and the rest (the Duke of York, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, both the Secretaries, Sir G. Carteret, and Sir W. Coventry,) how it stood, wherein they seemed satisfied, but press mightily for more supplies; and the letter of the Generalls, which was read, did lay their not going or too soon returning from the Dutch coast, this next bout, to the want of victuals. They then proceeded to the enquiry after the fire-ships; and did all very superficially, and without any severity at all. But, however, I was in pain, after we came out, to know how I had done; and hear well enough. But, however, it shall be a caution to me to prepare myself against a day of inquisition. Being come out, I met with Mr. Moore, and he and I an houre together in the Gallery, telling me how far they are gone in getting my Lord Sandwich's pardon, so as the Chancellor is prepared in it; and Sir H. Bennet do promote

it, and the warrant for the King's signing is drawn. The business between my Lord Hinchingbroke and Mrs. Mallett is quite broke off; he attending her at Tunbridge, and she declaring her affections to be settled; and he not being fully pleased with the vanity and liberty of her carriage. He told me how my Lord has drawn a bill of exchange from Spayne of 1,200*l.*, and would have me supply him with 500*l.* of it, but I avoyded it, being not willing to embarke myself in money there, where I see things going to ruine. Thence to discours of the times; and he tells me he believes both my Lord Arlington and Sir W. Coventry, as well as my Lord Sandwich and Sir G. Carteret, have reason to fear, and are afeard of this Parliament now coming on. He tells me that Bristoll's faction is getting ground apace against my Lord Chancellor. He told me that my old Lord Coventry¹ was a cunning, crafty man, and did make as many bad decrees in Chancery as any man; and that in one case, that occasioned many years' dispute, at last when the King came in, it was hoped by the party grieved, to get my Lord Chancellor to reverse a decree of his. Sir W. Coventry took the opportunity of the business between the Duke of York and the Duchesse, and said to my Lord Chancellor, that he had rather be drawn up Holborne to be hanged, than live to see his father's grave defiled (in these very terms) and any decree of his reversed. And so the Chancellor did not think fit to

¹ The Lord Keeper. Ob. 1639-40.

do it, but it still stands, to the undoing of one Norton, a printer, about his right to the printing of the Bible, and Grammar, &c.¹ Sir J. Minnes had a very bad fit all this day, and a hickup do take him, which is a very bad sign, which troubles me truly.

27th. Up, and to my new closett. Then to break open a window to the leads' side in my old closett, which will enlighten the room mightily, and make it mighty pleasant. Then to the office, and thither came and walked an hour with Sir G. Carteret, who tells me what is done about my Lord's pardon, and is not for letting the Duke of York know any thing of it beforehand, but to carry it as speedily and quietly as we can. He seems to be very apprehensive that the Parliament will be troublesome and inquisitive into faults, but seems not to value them as to himself. He gone, I to the Victualling Office, setting the business of the state of the fleete's victualling even and plain. I have another memento from Sir W. Coventry of the want of provisions in the fleete, which troubles me, though there is no reason for it; but it will have the good effect of making me more wary.

28th. At noon I, with my wife and Mercer, to Philpott Lane, a great cook's shop, to the wedding of Mr. Longracke, our purveyor, a good, sober, civil man,

¹ Roger Norton, of Little Britain, printer of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew to His Majesty, and one of the Patentees in the office of King's Printer, in whom, as well as in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, is still vested the exclusive right of printing the authorized English Version of the Scriptures. He was Master of the Stationers' Company in 1684. Ob. 26th October, 1723.

and hath married a sober, serious mayde. Here I met much ordinary company, I going thither at his great request ; but there was Mr. Madden and his lady, a fine, noble, pretty lady, and he a fine gentleman seems to be. We four were most together ; but the whole company was very simple and innocent. A good dinner, and, what was best, good musique. After dinner the young women went to dance ; among others Mr. Christopher Pett his daughter, who is a very pretty, modest girle, I am mightily taken with her ; and that being done about five o'clock, home, very well pleased with the afternoon's work. And so we broke up mightily civilly, the bride and bridegroom going to Greenwich, they keeping their dinner here only for my sake. We home, where I to the office, and anon am, on a sudden called to meet Sir W. Pen and Sir W. Coventry at the Victualling Office, which did put me out of order to be so surprised. But I went, and there Sir William Coventry did read me a letter from the Generalls to the King, a most scurvy letter, reflecting most upon Sir W. Coventry, and then upon me for my accounts (not that they are not true, but that we do not consider the expence of the fleete), and then upon the whole office, in neglecting them and the King's service, and this in very plain and sharp and menacing terms. I did give a good account of matters according to our computation of the expence of the fleete. I find Sir W. Coventry willing enough to accept of any thing to confront the Generalls. But a great supply must be made, and shall be in grace of

God ! But, however, our accounts here will be found the true ones. Having done here, and much work set me, I with greater content home than I thought I should have done, and so to the office awhile, and then home, and awhile in my new closet, which delights me every day more and more, and so late to bed.

29th. Up betimes, and then, by appointment with Sir W. Pen, to my Lord Bellassis, he sitting in the coach the while, while I up to my Lord and there offered him my account of the bills of exchange I have received and paid for him, wherein we agree all but one 200*l.* bill of Vernatty's drawing, wherein I doubt he has endeavoured to cheate my Lord ; but that will soon appear. Thence took leave, and found Sir W. Pen talking to Orange Moll, of the King's house, who, to our great comfort, told us that they begun to act on the 18th of this month. So on to St. James's, in the way Sir W. Pen telling me that Mr. Norton,¹ that married Sir J. Lawson's daughter, is dead. She left 800*l.* a year jointure, a son to inherit the whole estate. She freed from her father-in-law's tyranny, and is in condition to helpe her mother, who needs it ; of which I am glad, the young lady being very pretty. To St. James's, and there Sir W. Coventry took Sir W. Pen and me apart, and read to us his answer to the Generalls' letter to the King that he read last night ; wherein he is very plain, and states

¹ See 6th July, 1665.

the matter in full defence of himself and of me with him, which he could not avoid ; which is a good comfort to me, that I happen to be involved with him in the same cause. And then, speaking of the supplies which have been made to this fleete, more than ever in all kinds to any, even that wherein the Duke of York himself was, "Well," says he, "if this will not do, I will say, as Sir J. Falstaffe did to the Prince, 'Tell your father, that if he do not like this let him kill the next Piercy himself.'" So I into the Parke and home, and there find Mrs. Mary Batelier, and she dined with us ; and thence I took them to Islington, and there eat a custard ; and so back to Moorfields, and shewed Batelier, with my wife, Polichinello, which I like the more I see it ; and so home with great content, she being a mighty good-natured, pretty woman. No newes where the Dutch are. We begin to think they will steale through the Channel to meet Beaufort. We think our fleete sayled yesterday, but we have no newes of it.

30th. In the afternoon, and at night till two in the morning, framing my great letter about the victualling of the fleete, about which there has been so much ado and exceptions taken by the Generalls.

31st. Wrote it fair, which done I sent it to Sir W. Coventry to peruse and send to the fleete by the first opportunity ; and so pretty betimes to bed. Much pleased to-day with the thoughts of gilding the backs of all my books alike in my new presses.

September 1st. My wife and I to Polichinello, but

were there horribly frightened to see Young Killigrew come in with a great many more young sparks ; but we hid ourselves, so as we think they did not see us. By and by they went away, and then we were at rest again ; and so, the play being done, we to Islington, and there eat and drank and mighty merry ; and so home singing, and, after a letter or two at the office, to bed.

2nd (Lord's-day). Some of our mayds sitting up late last night to get things ready against our feast to-day, Jane called us up about three in the morning, to tell us of a great fire they saw in the City. So I rose and slipped on my night-gowne, and went to her window, and thought it to be on the back-side of Marke-lane at the farthest ; but, being unused to such fires as followed, I thought it far enough off ; and so went to bed again and to sleep. About seven rose again to dress myself, and there looked out at the window, and saw the fire not so much as it was and further off. So to my closett to set things to rights after yesterday's cleaning. By and by Jane comes and tells me that she hears that above 300 houses have been burned down to-night by the fire we saw, and that it is now burning down all Fish-street, by London Bridge. So I made myself ready presently, and walked to the Tower, and there got up upon one of the high places, Sir J. Robinson's little son going up with me ; and there I did see the houses at that end of the bridge all on fire, and an infinite great fire on this and the other side the end of the bridge ;

which, among other people, did trouble me for poor little Michell and our Sarah on the bridge. So down, with my heart full of trouble, to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who tells me that it begun this morning in the King's baker's¹ house in Pudding-lane, and that it hath burned St. Magnus's Church and most part of Fish-street already. So I down to the water-side, and there got a boat and through bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire. Poor Michell's house, as far as the Old Swan, already burned that way, and the fire running further, that in a very little time it got as far as the Steele-yard, while I was there. Everybody endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging into the river or bringing them into lighters that lay off; poor people staying in their houses as long as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats, or clambering from one pair of stairs by the water-side to another. And among other things, the poor pigeons, I perceive, were loth to leave their houses, but hovered about the windows and balconys till they, some of them, burned their wings, and fell down. Having staid, and in an hour's time seen the fire rage every way, and nobody, to my sight, endeavouring to quench it, but to remove their goods, and leave all to the fire, and having seen it get as far as the Steele-yard, and the wind mighty high and driving it into the City; and every thing, after so long a drought, proving combustible, even the very stones of churches,

¹ His name was Faryner.

and among other things the poor steeple¹ by which pretty Mrs. — lives, and whereof my old school-fellow Elborough is parson, taken fire in the very top, and there burned till it fell down: I to White Hall (with a gentleman with me who desired to go off from the Tower, to see the fire, in my boat); and there up to the King's closett in the Chappell, where people came about me, and I did give them an account dismayed them all, and word was carried in to the King. So I was called for, and did tell the King and Duke of York what I saw, and that unless his Majesty did command houses to be pulled down nothing could stop the fire. They seemed much troubled, and the King commanded me to go to my Lord Mayor² from him, and command him to spare no houses, but to pull down before the fire every way. The Duke of York bid me tell him that if he would have any more soldiers he shall; and so did my Lord Arlington afterwards, as a great secret. Here meeting with Captain Cocke, I in his coach, which he lent me, and Creed with me to Paul's, and there walked along Watling-street, as well as I could, every creature coming away loaden with goods to save, and here and there sicke people carried away in beds. Extraordinary good goods carried in carts and on backs. At last met my Lord Mayor in Canning-street, like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the King's message he cried, like a fainting woman, "Lord! what

¹ St. Lawrence Poultney, of which Thomas Elborough was curate.

² Sir Thomas Bludworth See 30th June, 1666.

can I do? I am spent: people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses; but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it." That he needed no more soldiers; and that, for himself, he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night. So he left me, and I him, and walked home, seeing people all almost distracted, and no manner of means used to quench the fire. The houses, too, so very thick thereabouts, and full of matter for burning, as pitch and tarr, in Thames-street; and warehouses of oyle, and wines, and brandy, and other things. Here I saw Mr. Isaac Houblon, the handsome man, prettily dressed and dirty, at his door at Dowgate, receiving some of his brother's things, whose houses were on fire; and, as he says, have been removed twice already; and he doubts (as it soon proved) that they must be in a little time removed from his house also, which was a sad consideration. And to see the churches all filling with goods by people who themselves should have been quietly there at this time. By this time it was about twelve o'clock; and so home, and there find my guests, who were Mr. Wood and his wife Barbary Sheldon, and also Mr. Moone: she mighty fine, and her husband, for aught I see, a likely man. But Mr. Moone's design and mine, which was to look over my closett and please him with the sight thereof, which he hath long desired, was wholly disappointed; for we were in great trouble and disturbance at this fire, not knowing what to think of it. However, we had an extraordinary good dinner, and

as merry as at this time we could be. While at dinner Mrs. Batelier came to enquire after Mr. Woolfe and Stanes (who, it seems, are related to them) whose houses in Fish-street are all burned, and they in a sad condition. She would not stay in the fright. Soon as dined, I and Moone away, and walked through the City, the streets full of nothing but people and horses and carts loaden with goods, ready to run over one another, and removing goods from one burned house to another. They now removing out of Canning-streete (which received goods in the morning) into Lombard-streete, and further; and among others I now saw my little goldsmith, Stokes,¹ receiving some friend's goods, whose house itself was burned the day after. We parted at Paul's; he home, and I to Paul's Wharf, where I had appointed a boat to attend me, and took in Mr. Carcasse² and his brother, whom I

¹ Humphrey Stocks, at the Black Horse in Lombard Street.

² James Carcasse, who is again frequently mentioned, was a clerk in the office for issuing tickets to the seamen. He published a 4to. volume of poems in 1679, called "*Lucida Intervalla*," the following extract from which strongly reflecting upon Pepys, has been printed in "*Notes and Queries*," vol. ii. p. 87:—

"Get thee behind me, then, dumb devil begone,
The Lord hath Ephthatha said to my tongue.
Him I must praise who open'd hath my lips,
Sent me from Navy to the Ark by Pepys;
By Mr. Pepys, who hath my rival been
For the Duke's favour, more than years thirteen;
But I excluded, he high and fortunate,
This secretary I could never mate.
But clerk of th' Acts, if I'm a parson, then
I shall prevail, the voice outdoes the pen;

met in the streete, and carried them below and above bridge to and again to see the fire, which was now got further, both below and above, and no likelihood of stopping it. Met with the King and Duke of York in their barge, and with them to Queenhithe, and there called Sir Richard Browne to them. Their order was only to pull down houses apace, and so below bridge at the water-side ; but little was or could be done, the fire coming upon them so fast. Good hopes there was of stopping it at the Three Cranes above, and at Buttolph's Wharf below bridge, if care be used ; but the wind carries it into the City, so as we know not by the water-side what it do there. River full of lighters and boats taking in goods, and good goods swimming in the water, and only I observed that hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in, but there was a pair of Virginalls¹ in it. Having seen as much as I could now, I away to White Hall by appointment, and there walked to St. James's Parke, and there met my wife and Creed and Wood and his wife, and walked to my boat ; and there upon the water again, and to the fire up and down, it still encreasing, and the wind great. So near the fire as we could for smoke ; and all over the Thames, with one's face in the wind, you were almost burned with a

Though in a gown, the challenge I may make,
And wager win, save, if you can, your stake.
To th' Admiral I all submit, and vail —— "

The concluding line cut off and imperfect.

¹ A sort of spinet, so called from young women playing upon it.

shower of fire-drops. This is very true ; so as houses were burned by these drops and flakes of fire, three or four, nay, five or six houses, one from another. When we could endure no more upon the water, we to a little ale-house on the Bankside, over against the Three Cranes, and there staid till it was dark almost, and saw the fire grow ; and, as it grew darker, appeared more and more, and in corners and upon steeples, and between churches and houses, as far as we could see up the hill of the City, in a most horrid malicious bloody flame, not like the fine flame of an ordinary fire. Barbary and her husband away before us. We staid till, it being darkish, we saw the fire as only one entire arch of fire from this to the other side the bridge, and in a bow up the hill for an arch of above a mile long : it made me weep to see it. The churches, houses, and all on fire and flaming at once ; and a horrid noise the flames made, and the cracking of houses at their ruine. So home with a sad heart, and there find every body discoursing and lamenting the fire ; and poor Tom Hater came with some few of his goods saved out of his house, which is burned upon Fish-streete Hill. I invited him to lie at my house, and did receive his goods, but was deceived in his lying there, the newes coming every moment of the growth of the fire ; so as we were forced to begin to pack up our owne goods, and prepare for their removal ; and did by moonshine (it being brave dry, and moonshine, and warm weather) carry much of my goods into the garden, and Mr. Hater and I did

remove my money and iron chests into my cellar, as thinking that the safest place. And got my bags of gold into my office, ready to carry away, and my chief papers of accounts also there, and my tallys into a box by themselves. So great was our fear, as Sir W. Batten hath carts come out of the country to fetch away his goods this night. We did put Mr. Hater, poor man, to bed a little ; but he got but very little rest, so much noise being in my house, taking down of goods.

3rd. About four o'clock in the morning, my Lady Batten sent me a cart to carry away all my money, and plate, and best things, to Sir W. Rider's at Bednall-green. Which I did, riding myself in my night-gowne in the cart ; and, Lord ! to see how the streets and the highways are crowded with people running and riding, and getting of carts at any rate to fetch away things. I find Sir W. Rider tired with being called up all night, and receiving things from several friends. His house full of goods, and much of Sir W. Batten's and Sir W. Pen's. I am eased at my heart to have my treasure so well secured. Then home, with much ado to find a way, nor any sleep all this night to me nor my poor wife. But then and all this day she and I, and all my people labouring to get away the rest of our things, and did get Mr. Tooker to get me a lighter to take them in, and we did carry them (myself some) over Tower Hill, which was by this time full of people's goods, bringing their goods thither ; and down to the lighter, which lay at the next quay, above the Tower Docke.

And here was my neighbour's wife, Mrs. —, with her pretty child, and some few of her things, which I did willingly give way to be saved with mine; but there was no passing with any thing through the postern, the crowd was so great. The Duke of York came this day by the office, and spoke to us, and did ride with his guard up and down the City to keep all quiet (he being now Generall, and having the care of all). This day, Mercer being not at home, but against her mistress's order gone to her mother's, and my wife going thither to speak with W. Hewer, met her there, and was angry; and her mother saying that she was not a 'prentice girl, to ask leave every time she goes abroad, my wife with good reason was angry, and, when she came home, bid her be gone again. And so she went away, which troubled me, but yet less than it would, because of the condition we are in, in fear of coming in a little time to being less able to keepe one in her quality. At night lay down a little upon a quilt of W. Hewer's in the office, all my owne things being packed up or gone; and after me my poor wife did the like, we having fed upon the remains of yesterday's dinner, having no fire nor dishes, nor any opportunity of dressing any thing.

4th. Up by break of day to get away the remainder of my things; which I did by a lighter at the Iron gate: and my hands so few, that it was the afternoon before we could get them all away. Sir W. Pen and I

¹ Irongate Stairs, Lower Thames Street.

to Tower-streete, and there met the fire burning three or four doors beyond Mr. Howell's, whose goods, poor man, his trayes, and dishes, shovells, &c. were flung all along Tower-street in the kennels, and people working therewith from one end to the other; the fire coming on in that narrow streete, on both sides, with infinite fury. Sir W. Batten not knowing how to remove his wine, did dig a pit in the garden, and laid it in there; and I took the opportunity of laying all the papers of my office that I could not otherwise dispose of. And in the evening Sir W. Pen and I did dig another, and put our wine in it; and I my Parmazan cheese, as well as my wine and some other things. The Duke of York was at the office this day, at Sir W. Pen's; but I happened not to be within. This afternoon, sitting melancholy with Sir W. Pen in our garden, and thinking of the certain burning of this office, without extraordinary means, I did propose for the sending up of all our workmen from Woolwich and Deptford yards (none whereof yet appeared), and to write to Sir W. Coventry to have the Duke of York's permission to pull down houses, rather than lose this office, which would much hinder the King's business. So Sir W. Pen went down this night, in order to the sending them up to-morrow morning; and I wrote to Sir W. Coventry about the business,¹ but received no

¹ A copy of this letter, preserved among the Pepys MSS. in the author's own handwriting, is subjoined:—

Sir,—The fire is now very neere us as well on Tower Streete as Fanchurch Street side, and we little hope of our escape but by that remedy, to y^e

answer. This night Mrs. Turner (who, poor woman, was removing her goods all this day, good goods into the garden, and knew not how to dispose of them), and her husband supped with my wife and me at night, in the office, upon a shoulder of mutton from the cook's, without any napkin or any thing, in a sad manner, but were merry. Only now and then walking into the garden, and saw how horridly the sky looks, all on a fire in the night, was enough to put us out of our wits; and, indeed, it was extremely dreadful, for it looks just as if it was at us, and the whole heaven on fire. I after supper walked in the darke down to Tower-streete, and there saw it all on fire, at the Trinity House on that side, and the Dolphin Taverne on this side, which was very near us; and the fire with extraordinary vehemence. Now begins the practice of blowing up of houses in Tower-streete, those next the Tower, which at first did frighten people more than any thing; but it stopped the fire where it was done, it

want whereof we doe certainly owe ye loss of ye City, namely, ye pulling down of houses, in ye way of ye fire. This way Sir W. Pen and myself have so far concluded upon ye practising, that he is gone to Woolwich and Deptford to supply himself with men and necessarys in order to the doing thereof, in case at his returne our condition be not bettered and that he meets with his R. H^e approbation, which I have thus undertaken to learn of you. Pray please to let me have this night (at whatever hour it is) what his R. H^e directions are in this particular. Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten having left us, we cannot add, though we are well assured of their, as well as all ye neighbourhood's concurrence.

Y^r obedient Servant,

S. P.

Sir W. Coventry,
Sept^r. 4, 1666.

bringing down the houses to the ground in the same places they stood, and then it was easy to quench what little fire was in it, though it kindled nothing almost. W. Hewer this day went to see how his mother did, and comes late home, telling us how he hath been forced to remove her to Islington, her house in Pye-corner being burned ; so that the fire is got so far that way, and all the Old Bayly, and was running down to Fleet-streete ; and Paul's is burned, and all Cheapside. I wrote to my father this night, but the post-house being burned, the letter could not go.

5th. I lay down in the office again upon W. Hewer's quilt, being mighty weary, and sore in my feet with going till I was hardly able to stand. About two in the morning my wife calls me up and tells me of new cryes of fire, it being come to Barking Church, which is the bottom of our lane.¹ I up, and finding it so, resolved presently to take her away, and did, and took my gold, which was about 2,350*l.*, W. Hewer, and Jane, down by Proundy's boat to Woolwich ; but Lord ! what a sad sight it was by moone-light to see the whole City almost on fire, that you might see it plain at Woolwich, as if you were by it. There, when I came, I find the gates shut, but no guard kept at all, which troubled me, because of discourses now begun, that there is a plot in it, and that the French had done it. I got the gates open, and to Mr. Sheldon's, where I locked up my gold, and charged my wife and W.

¹ Seething Lane.

Hewer never to leave the room without one of them in it, night or day. So back again, by the way seeing my goods well in the lighters at Deptford, and watched well by people. Home, and whereas I expected to have seen our house on fire, it being now about seven o'clock, it was not. But to the fire, and there find greater hopes than I expected; for my confidence of finding our Office on fire was such, that I durst not ask any body how it was with us, till I came and saw it was not burned. But going to the fire, I find by the blowing up of houses, and the great helpe given by the workmen out of the King's yards, sent up by Sir W. Pen, there is a good stop given to it, as well as at Marke-lane end as ours; it having only burned the dyall of Barking Church, and part of the porch, and was there quenched. I up to the top of Barking steeple, and there saw the saddest sight of desolation that I ever saw; every where great fires, oyle-cellars, and brimstone, and other things burning. I became afeard to stay there long, and therefore down again as fast as I could, the fire being spread as far as I could see it; and to Sir W. Pen's, and there eat a piece of cold meat, having eaten nothing since Sunday, but the remains of Sunday's dinner.¹ Here I met with Mr. Young and Whistler; and having removed all my things, and received good hopes that the fire at our end is stopped, they and I walked into the town, and find Fenchurch-streete, Gracious-streete, and Lumbard-streete all in dust. The Exchange a

¹ He forgot the shoulder of mutton from the cook's the day before.

sad sight, nothing standing there, of all the statues or pillars, but Sir Thomas Gresham's picture in the corner. Walked into Moorefields (our feet ready to burn, walking through the towne among the hot coles), and find that full of people, and poor wretches carrying their goods there, and every body keeping his goods together by themselves (and a great blessing it is to them that it is fair weather for them to keep abroad night and day); drunk there, and paid twopence for a plain penny loaf. Thence homeward, having passed through Cheapside and Newgate Market, all burned, and seen Anthony Joyce's house in fire. And took up (which I keep by me) a piece of glasse of Mercers' Chappell in the streete, where much more was, so melted and buckled¹ with the heat of the fire like parchment. I also did see a poor cat taken out of a hole in a chimney, joyning to the wall of the Exchange, with the hair all burned off the body, and yet alive. So home at night, and find there good hopes of saving our office; but great endeavours of watching all night, and having men ready; and so we lodged them in the office, and had drink and bread and cheese for them. And I lay down and slept a good night about midnight, though when I rose I heard that there had been a great alarme of French and Dutch being risen, which proved nothing. But it is a strange thing to see how long this time did look since Sunday, having been

¹ Buckled, *i.e.*, bent, in which sense it is used by Shakespeare, "Henry IV.," part ii. act i. scene 1.

always full of variety of actions, and little sleep, that it looked like a week or more, and I had forgot almost the day of the week.

6th. Up about five o'clock, and there met Mr. Gauden at the gate of the office (I intending to go out, as I used, every now and then to-day, to see how the fire is) to call our men to Bishop's-gate, where no fire had yet been near, and there is now one broke out: which did give great grounds to people, and to me too, to think that there is some kind of plot in this (on which many by this time have been taken, and it hath been dangerous for any stranger to walk in the streets), but I went with the men, and we did put it out in a little time; so that that was well again. It was pretty to see how hard the women did work in the cannells, sweeping of water; but then¹ they would scold for drink, and be as drunk as devils. I saw good butts of sugar broke open in the street, and people go and take handsfull out, and put into beer, and drink it. And now all being pretty well, I took boat, and over to Southwarke, and took boat on the other side the bridge, and so to Westminster, thinking to shift myself, being all in dirt from top to bottom; but could not there find any place to buy a shirt or pair of gloves, Westminster Hall being full of people's goods, those in Westminster having removed all their goods, and the Exchequer money put into vessels to carry to Nonsuch;¹ but to the Swan, and there was

¹ Nonsuch House, near Epsom, where the Exchequer had been kept during the Plague.

trimmed ; and then to White Hall, but saw nobody ; and so home. A sad sight to see how the River looks : no houses nor church near it, to the Temple, where it stopped. At home, did go with Sir W. Batten, and our neighbour, Knightly (who, with one more, was the only man of any fashion left in all the neighbourhood thereabouts, they all removing their goods and leaving their houses to the mercy of the fire), to Sir R. Ford's, and there dined in an earthen platter—a fried breast of mutton ; a great many of us, but very merry, and indeed as good a meal, though as ugly a one, as ever I had in my life. Thence down to Deptford, and there with great satisfaction landed all my goods at Sir G. Carteret's safe, and nothing missed I could see, or hurt. This being done to my great content, I home, and to Sir W. Batten's, and there with Sir R. Ford, Mr. Knightly, and one Withers, a professed lying rogue, supped well, and mighty merry, and our fears over. From them to the office, and there slept with the office full of labourers, who talked, and slept, and walked all night long there. But strange it was to see Clothworkers' Hall on fire these three days and nights in one body of flame, it being the cellar full of oyle.

7th. Up by five o'clock ; and, blessed be God ! find all well ; and by water to Paul's Wharfe. Walked thence, and saw all the towne burned, and a miserable sight of Paul's church, with all the roofs fallen, and the body of the quire fallen into St. Fayth's ; Paul's school also, Ludgate, and Fleet-street, my

father's house, and the church, and a good part of the Temple the like. So to Creed's lodging, near the New Exchange, and there find him laid down upon a bed ; the house all unfurnished, there being fears of the fire's coming to them. There borrowed a shirt of him, and washed. To Sir W. Coventry, at St. James's, who lay without curtains, having removed all his goods ; as the King at White Hall, and every body had done, and was doing. He hopes we shall have no publique distractions upon this fire, which is what every body fears, because of the talke of the French having a hand in it. And it is a proper time for discontents ; but all men's minds are full of care to protect themselves, and save their goods : the militia is in arms every where. Our fleetes, he tells me, have been in sight one of another, and most unhappily by fowle weather were parted, to our great losse, as in reason they do conclude ; the Dutch being come out only to make a shew, and please their people ; but in very bad condition as to stores, victuals, and men. They are at Boulogne, and our fleete come to St. Ellen's. We have got nothing, but have lost one ship, but he knows not what. Thence to the Swan, and there drank ; and so home, and find all well. My Lord Brouncker, at Sir W. Batten's, tells us the Generall¹ is sent for up, to come to advise with the King about business at this juncture, and to keep all quiet ; which is great honour to him, but I am sure is but a piece

¹ The Duke of Albemarle.

of dissimulation. So home, and did give orders for my house to be made clean ; and then down to Woolwich, and there find all well. Dined, and Mrs. Markham came to see my wife. This day our Merchants first met at Gresham College, which, by proclamation, is to be their Exchange. Strange to hear what is bid for houses all up and down here ; a friend of Sir W. Rider's having 150*l.* for what he used to let for 40*l.* per annum. Much dispute where the Custome-house shall be ; thereby the growth of the City again to be foreseen. My Lord Treasurer, they say, and others, would have it at the other end of the towne. I home late to Sir W. Pen's, who did give me a bed ; but without curtains or hangings, all being down. So here I went the first time into a naked bed, only my drawers on ; and did sleep pretty well : but still both sleeping and waking had a fear of fire in my heart, that I took little rest. People do all the world over cry out of the simplicity of my Lord Mayor in general ; and more particularly in this business of the fire, laying it all upon him. A proclamation is come out for markets to be kept at Leadenhall and Mile-end-greene, and several other places about the towne ; and Tower-hill, and all churches to be set open to receive poor people.

8th. Up and with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen by water to White Hall and they to St. James's. I stopped with Sir G. Carteret to desire him to go with us, and to enquire after money. But the first he cannot do, and the other as little, or says, "when we can

get any, or what shall we do for it?" He, it seems, is employed in the correspondence between the City and the King every day, in settling of things. I find him full of trouble, to think how things will go. I left him, and to St. James's, where we met first at Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and there did what business we can, without any books. Our discourse, as every thing else, was confused. The fleete is at Portsmouth, there staying a wind to carry them to the Downes, or towards Boulogne, where they say the Dutch fleete is gone, and stays. We concluded upon private meetings for a while, not having any money to satisfy any people that may come to us. I bought two eeles upon the Thames, cost me six shillings. Thence with Sir W. Batten to the Cock-pit, whither the Duke of Albemarle is come. It seems the King holds him so necessary at this time, that he hath sent for him, and will keep him here. Indeed, his interest in the City, being acquainted, and his care in keeping things quiet, is reckoned that wherein he will be very serviceable. We to him: he is courted in appearance by every body. He very kind to us; and I perceive he lays by all business of the fleete at present, and minds the City, and is now hastening to Gresham College, to discourse with the Aldermen. Sir W. Batten and I home (where met by my brother John, come to town to see how things are with us), and then presently he with me to Gresham College; where infinity of people, partly through novelty to see the new place, and partly to find out and hear what is

become one man of another. I met with many people undone, and more that have extraordinary great losses. People speaking their thoughts variously about the beginning of the fire, and the rebuilding of the City. Then to Sir W. Batten's, and took my brother with me, and there dined with a great company of neighbours, and much good discourse; among others, of the low spirits of some rich men in the City, in sparing any encouragement to the poor people that wrought for the saving their houses. Among others, Alderman Starling, a very rich man, without children, the fire at next door to him in our lane, after our men had saved his house, did give 2*s.* 6*d.* among thirty of them, and did quarrel with some that would remove the rubbish out of the way of the fire, saying that they came to steal. Sir W. Coventry told me of another this morning in Holborne, which he showed the King: that when it was offered to stop the fire near his house for such a reward that came but to 2*s.* 6*d.* a man among the neighbours he would give but 18*d.* Thence to Bednall Green by coach, my brother with me, and saw all well there, and fetched away my journall-book to enter for five days past. I was much frighted and kept awake in my bed, by some noise I heard a great while below stairs; and the boys not coming up to me when I knocked. It was by their discovery of some people stealing of some neighbours' wine that lay in vessels in the streets. So to sleep; and all well all night.

9th (Sunday). Up; and was trimmed, and sent

my brother to Woolwich to my wife, to dine with her. I to church, where our parson made a melancholy but good sermon ; and many and most in the church cried, specially the women. The church mighty full ; but few of fashion, and most strangers. I walked to Bednall Green, and there dined well, but a bad venison pasty at Sir W. Rider's. Good people they are, and good discourse ; and his daughter, Middleton, a fine woman, discreet. Thence home, and to church again, and there preached Dean Harding ;¹ but, methinks, a bad, poor sermon, though proper for the time ; nor eloquent, in saying at this time that the City is reduced from a large folio to a decimo-tertio. So to my office, there to write down my journall, and take leave of my brother, whom I sent back this afternoon, though rainy ; which it hath not done a good while before. But I had no room or convenience for him here till my house is fitted ; but I was very kind to him, and do take very well of him his journey. I did give him 40s. for his pocket, and so, he being gone, and it presently raining, I was troubled for him, though it is good for the fyre. Anon to Sir W. Pen's to bed, and made my boy Tom to read me asleep.

10th. All the morning clearing our cellars, and breaking in pieces all my old lumber, to make room, and to prevent fire. And then to Sir W. Batten's, and dined ; and there hear that Sir W. Rider says that the towne is full of the report of the wealth that is in his

¹ Nathaniel Hardy, Dean of Rochester.

house, and would be glad that his friends would provide for the safety of their goods there. This made me get a cart; and thither, and there brought my money all away. Took a hackney-coach myself (the hackney-coaches now standing at Allgate). Much wealth indeed there is at his house. Blessed be God, I got all mine well thence, and lodged it in my office; but vexed to have all the world see it. And with Sir W. Batten, who would have taken away my hands before they were stowed. But by and by comes brother Balty from sea, which I was glad of; and so got him, and Mr. Tooker, and the boy, to watch with them all in the office all night, while I went down to my wife to Woolwich, and there find my wife out of humour and indifferent, as she uses upon her having much liberty abroad.

11th. Lay there, and up betimes, and by water with my gold, and laid it with the rest in my office. In the evening at Sir W. Pen's, with my wife, at supper: he in a mad, ridiculous, drunken humour; and it seems there have been some late distances between his lady and him, as my wife tells me. After supper, I home, and with Mr. Hater, Gibson,¹ and Tom alone, got all my chests and money into the further cellar with much pains, but great content to me when done. So very late and weary to bed.

12th. Up, and with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen to St. James's by water, and there did our usual busi-

¹ Probably Clerk of the Cheque at Deptford in 1668.

ness with the Duke of York. Away home, and to dinner, with Balty and his wife. After dinner I took him down with me to Deptford, and there, by the Bezan, loaded above half my goods, and sent them away.

13th. Up, and down to Tower Wharfe; and there, with Balty and labourers from Deptford, did get my goods housed well at home. So down to Deptford again to fetch the rest, and there eat a bit of dinner at the Globe, with the master of the Bezan with me, while the labourers went to dinner. Here I hear that this poor towne do bury still of the plague seven or eight in a day. So to Sir G. Carteret's to work, and there did to my content ship off into the Bezan all the rest of my goods, saving my pictures and fine things, that I will bring home in wherrys when the house is fit to receive them: and so home, and unload them by carts and hands before night, to my exceeding satisfaction: and so after supper to bed in my house, the first time I have lain there; and lay with my wife in my old closett upon the ground, and Balty and his wife in the best chamber, upon the ground also.

14th. Up, and to work, having carpenters come to helpe in setting up bedsteads and hangings; and at that trade my people and I all the morning, till pressed by publique business to leave them against my will in the afternoon: and yet I was troubled in being at home, to see all my goods lie up and down the house in a bad condition, and strange workmen going to and fro might take what they would almost. All the

afternoon busy; and Sir W. Coventry came to me, and found me, as God would have it, in my office, and people about me setting my papers to rights; and there discoursed about getting an account ready against the Parliament, and thereby did create me infinite of business, and to be done on a sudden; which troubled me: but, however, he being gone, I about it late, and to good purpose. And so home, having this day also got my wine out of the ground again, and set in my cellar; but with great pain to keep the porters that carried it in from observing the money-chests there. This day, poor Tom Pepys, the turner, was with me, and Kate Joyce, to bespeake places; one for himself, the other for her husband. She tells me he hath lost 140*l.* per annum, but hath seven houses left.

15th. All the morning at the office. Dined with Sir W. Batten. Wrote near thirty letters and orders with my owne hand. At it till eleven at night; and it is strange to see how clear my head was, being eased of all the matter of all these letters; whereas one would think that I should have been dazed. I never did observe so much of myself in my life. In the evening there comes to me Captain Cocke, and walked a good while in the garden. He says he hath computed that the rents of houses lost this fire in the City comes to 600,000*l.* per annum; that this will make the Parliament more quiet than otherwise they would have been, and give the King a more ready supply; that the supply must be by excise, as it is in Hol-

land ; that the Parliament will see it necessary to carry on the warr ; that the late storm hindered our beating the Dutch fleete, who were gone out only to satisfy the people, having no business to do but avoid us ; that the French, as late in the yeare as it is, are coming ; that the Dutch are really in bad condition, but that this unhappinesse of ours do give them heart ; that there was a late difference between my Lord Arlington and Sir W. Coventry about neglect in the latter to send away an express of the other's in time ; that it came before the King, and the Duke of York concerned himself in it ; but this fire hath stopped it. The Dutch fleete is not gone home, but rather to the North, and so dangerous to our Gottenburgh fleete. That the Parliament is likely to fall foul upon some persons ; and, among others, on the Vice-chamberlaine,¹ though we both believe with little ground. That certainly never so great a loss as this was borne so well by citizens in the world ; he believing that not one merchant upon the 'Change will break upon it. That he do not apprehend there will be any disturbances in State upon it ; for that all men are busy in looking after their owne business to save themselves. He gone, I to finish my letters, and home to bed ; and find to my infinite joy many rooms clean ; and myself and wife lie in our own chamber again. But much terrified in the nights now-a-days with dreams of fire, and falling down of houses.

¹ Sir G. Carteret.

16th (Lord's day). At noon, with my wife, against her will, all undressed and dirty, dined at Sir W. Pen's, where was all the company of our families in towne; but, Lord! so sorry a dinner: venison baked in pans, that the dinner I have had for his lady alone hath been worth four of it. Thence, after dinner, displeased with our entertainment, to my office again, and there till almost midnight, and then home, my head aching mightily about our accounts.

17th. Up betimes, and shaved myself after a week's growth: but, Lord! how ugly I was yesterday and how fine to-day! By water, seeing the City all the way, a sad sight indeed, much fire being still in. To Sir W. Coventry, and there read over my yesterday's work: being a collection of the particulars of the excesses of charge created by a war, with great content. Sir W. Coventry was in great pain lest the French fleete should be passed by our fleete, who had notice of them on Saturday, and were preparing to go meet them; but their minds altered, and judged them merchant-men, when the same day the Success, Captain Ball, made their whole fleete, and came to Bright-helmstone, and thence at five o'clock afternoon, Saturday, wrote Sir W. Coventry newes thereof; so that we do much fear our missing them. Here came in and talked with him Sir Thomas Clifford,¹ who

¹ Eldest son of Hugh Clifford, Esq., of Ugbrooke, M.P. for Totness, 1661, and knighted for his conduct in the sea-fight 1665. After filling several high offices, he was, in 1672, created Baron Clifford of Chudleigh, and constituted High Treasurer, which place he resigned the following year, a few months before his death.

appears a very fine gentleman, and much set by at Court for his activity in going to sea, and stoutness every where, and stirring up and down. Thence by coach over the ruines, down Fleete Streete and Cheapside to Broad Streete to Sir G. Carteret. Thence, after some discourse with him upon our publique accounts, I back home, and all the day with Harman and his people finishing the hangings and beds in my house. They gone and I weary, my wife and I, and Balty and his wife, who came hither to-day to helpe us, to a barrel of oysters, and so to bed.

18th. It was a sad rainy and tempestuous night. I did my business in the afternoon, in forwarding the settling of my house, very well. Troubled at my wife's haire coming off so much. This day the Parliament met, and adjourned till Friday, when the King will be with them.

19th. To St. James's, and did our usual business before the Duke of York; which signified little, our business being only complaints of lack of money. Here I saw a bastard of the late King of Sweden's come to kiss his hands; a mighty modish French-like gentleman. Thence to White Hall, with Sir W. Batten and W. Pen, to Wilkes's; and there did hear many stories of Sir Henry Wood,¹ about Lord Norwich drawing a tooth at a health. Another time, he and Pinchbacke and Dr. Goffe,² now a religious man,

¹ Clerk of the Spicery to Charles I., and after the Restoration, Clerk to the Board of Green Cloth.

² Dr. Stephen Goffe, Clerk of the Queen's Closet, and her Assistant Con-

Pinchbacke did begin a frolick to drink out of a glass with a toad in it: he did it without harm. Goffe, who knew sacke would kill the toad, called for sacke; and when he saw it dead, says he, "I will have a quick toad, and will not drink from a dead toad."¹ By that means, no other being to be found, he escaped the health. Thence home, and dined, and to Deptford and got all my pictures put into wherries, and my other fine things, and landed them all very well, and brought them home, and got Sympson to set them all up to-night; and he gone, and I and the boy to finish and set up my books, and every else in my house, till two o'clock in the morning, and then to bed; but mightily troubled, and even in my sleep, at my missing four or five of my biggest books, Speed's Chronicle and Maps, and the two parts of Waggoner,² and a book of cards, which I suppose I have put up with too much care, that I have forgot where they are, for sure, they are not stole. Two little pictures of sea and ships, and a little gilt frame belonging to my plate of the River, I want; but my books do heartily trouble me. Most of my gilt frames are hurt, which also troubles me. This day I put on two shirts, the first time this year, and do grow well upon it; so that my disease is nothing but wind.

fessor. He had been Chaplain to Colonel Goring, but became, in 1641, a Roman Catholic. — Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. i. p. 19, edit. 1890.

¹ They swallow their own contradictions as easily as a hector can drink a frog in a glass of wine. — *Lentivoglio and Urania*, book v. p. 92, 3rd edit.

² Apparently Wagenaer's "*Speculum Nauticum*," published at Leyden in 1585, and translated into English by Anthony Ashley about the year 1588.

20th. Up to the setting to my closett to rights, and Sir W. Coventry takes me at it, which did not displease me. He and I to discourse about our accounts, and the bringing them to the Parliament, and with much content to see him rely so well on my part. To Sir Carteret, he tells me how the fleete is come into the Downes. Nothing done, nor French fleete seen: we drove all from our anchors. But he says newes is come that De Ruyter is dead, or very near it, of a hurt in his mouth, upon the discharge of one of his own guns; which put him into a fever, and he likely to die, if not already dead. In the afternoon, out by coach, my wife with me through all the ruines, to shew her them, which frets her much, and is a sad sight indeed. Set her down at her brother's, and thence I to Westminster Hall, and there staid a little while, and called her home. She did give me an account of great differences between her mother and Balty's wife. The old woman charges her with going abroad and staying out late, and painting in the absence of her husband, and I know not what; and they grow proud, both he and she, and do not help their father and mother out of what I help them to, which I do not like, nor my wife. So home, and to the office, to even my journall, and then home.

21st. Up, and mightily pleased with the setting of my books the last night in order, and that which did please me most of all is that W. Hewer tells me that upon enquiry he do find that Sir W. Pen hath a hamper more than his own, which he took for a

hamper of bottles of wine, and are books in it. I was impatient to see it, but they were carried into a wine-cellar, and the boy is abroad with him at the House, where the Parliament met to-day, and the King to be with them. At noon after dinner I sent for Harry, and he tells me it is so, and brought me by and by my hamper of books to my great joy, with the same books I missed, and three more great ones, and no more. I did give him 5s. for his pains. And so home with great joy, and there after a little doing at the office about our accounts, which now draw near the time they should be ready, the House having ordered Sir G. Carteret, upon his offering them, to bring them in on Saturday next, home, and there, with great pleasure, very late new setting all my books; and now I am in as good condition as I desire to be in all worldly respects. The Lord of Heaven make thankfull, and continue me therein!

22nd. My house is so clean as I never saw it, or any other house in my life, and every thing in as good condition as ever before the fire; but with, I believe, about 20*l.* cost one way or other, besides about 20*l.* charge in removing my goods, and do not find that I have lost any thing but two little pictures of ships and sea, and a little gold frame for one of my sea-cards. My glazier, indeed, is so full of worke that I cannot get him to come to perfect my house. To the office, and there busy now for good and all about my accounts. My Lord Brouncker came thither. He do now give me a watch, a plain one, in the roome of my

former watch with many moulds which I did give him. If it goes well, I care not for the difference in worth, though I believe there is 5*l*. In the afternoon comes Anthony Joyce to see me, and with tears told me his losse, but yet that he had something left that he can live well upon, and I doubt it not. But he would buy some place that he could have, and yet keepe his trade. He gone, I to the office again, and then to Sir G. Carteret, and there found Mr. Wayth, but, Lord ! how fretfully Sir G. Carteret do discourse with Mr. Wayth about his accounts, like a man that understands them not one word. I held my tongue and let him go on like a passionate foole. In the afternoon I paid for the two lighters that carried my goods to Deptford, and they cost me 8*l*. Till past midnight at our accounts, and have brought them to a good issue, but must work to-morrow, which T. Hater had no mind to, it being the Lord's day, but, being told the necessity, permitted, poor man ! This day wrote for brother John to come to towne. Among other reasons, my estate lying in money, I am afeard of any sudden miscarriage. So to bed mightily contented in dispatch of so much business.

23rd (Lord's day). Up, and after being trimmed, all the morning at the office till about one o'clock, and then home, and my people with me, and Mr. Wayth and I eat a bit of victuals, and my house being so clean makes me mightily pleased, but only I do lacke Mercer or somebody in the house to sing with. As soon as eat a bit Mr. Wayth and I by water to

White Hall, and there at Sir G. Carteret's lodgings Sir W. Coventry met, and we did debate the whole business of our accounts to the Parliament; where it appears to us that the charge of the war from September 1st, 1664, to this Michaelmas, will have been but 3,200,000*l.*, and we have paid in that time somewhat about 2,200,000*l.*; so that we owe above 900,000*l.*: but our method of accounting, though it cannot, I believe, be far wide from the mark, yet will not abide a strict examination if the Parliament should be troublesome. Here happened a pretty question of Sir W. Coventry, whether this account of ours will not put my Lord Treasurer to a difficulty to tell what is become of all the money the Parliament have given in this time for the war, which hath amounted to about 4,000,000*l.*, which nobody there could answer; but I perceive they did doubt what his answer could be. Having done, Wayth and I back again, and my wife and I for pleasure to Fox-hall, and there eat and drank, and so back home, and I to the office till night drawing the letter we are to send with our account to my Lord Treasurer, and that being done to my mind, I home to bed.

24th. To St. James's, and up and down to look for Sir W. Coventry; and at last found him and Sir G. Carteret with the Lord Treasurer at White Hall, consulting how to make up my Lord Treasurer's general account, as well as that of the Navy particularly. Here I brought the letter, but found that Sir G. Carteret had altered his account since he did give

me the abstract of it : so all my letter must be writ over again. So to Sir G. Carteret's lodgings, to speak a little about the alteration ; and there looking over the book Sir G. Carteret intends to deliver to the Parliament of his payments since September 1st, 1664, I find my name the very second for flags, which I had bought for the Navy, of calico, once, about 500 and odd pounds, which vexed me mightily. At last, I concluded of scraping out my name and putting in Mr. Tooker's, which eased me ; though the price was such as I should have had glory by. Here I saw my Lady Carteret lately come to towne, who, good lady ! is mighty kind, and I must make much of her, for she is a most excellent woman.

/ 25th. Up betimes, with all my people to get the letter writ over, and other things done, which I did, and by coach to Lord Brouncker's, and got his hand to it ; and then to the Parliament House and got it signed by the rest, and then delivered it at the House-door to Sir Philip Warwicke ; Sir G. Carteret being gone into the House with his book of accounts under his arme, to present to the House. I had brought my wife to White Hall, and leaving her with Mrs. Michell, where she sat in her shop and had burnt wine sent for her, I walked in the Hall, and among others with Ned Pickering, who continues still a lying, bragging, coxcombe, telling me that my Lord Sandwich may thank himself for all his misfortune ; for not suffering him and two or three good honest fellows more to take them by the throats that spoke ill of him,

and told me how basely Lionell Walden^{*} hath carried himself towards my Lord, by speaking slightly of him, which I shall remember. Thence took my wife home to dinner, and then to the office, and late at night to Mrs. Turner's, where she had got my wife and Lady Pen and Pegg, and supped, and after supper and the rest of the company by design gone, Mrs. Turner and her husband did lay their case to me about their lodgings, Sir J. Minnes being now gone wholly to his owne, and now, they being empty, they doubt Sir T. Harvy or Lord Brouncker may look after the lodgings. I did give them the best advice, poor people, that I could, and would do them any kindnesse, though it is strange that now they should have ne'er a friend of Sir W. Batten or Sir W. Pen to trust to but me, that they have disobliged. So home to bed, and all night still mightily troubled in my sleepe with fire and houses pulling down.

26th. Up, and with Sir J. Minnes by coach to St. James's where every body going to the House, I away by coach to White Hall, and after a few turns, and hearing that our accounts came into the House but to-day, I away by coach home, taking up my wife and calling at Bennet's, our late mercer, who is come into Covent Garden to a fine house looking down upon the Exchange; and I perceive many Londoners every day come; and Mr. Pierce hath let his wife's closett, and the little blind bed-chamber, and a garret to a silke

^{*} M. P. for Huntingdon.

man for 50*l.* fine, and 30*l.* per annum, and 40*l.* per annum more for dieting the master and two prentices. By Mr. Dugdale¹ I hear the great loss of books in St. Paul's Church-yard, and at their Hall also, which they value at about 150,000*l.*; some booksellers being wholly undone, and among others, they say, my poor Kirton. And Mr. Crumlum,² all his books and household stuff burned; they trusting to St. Fayth's, and the roof of the church falling, broke the arch down into the lower church, and so all the goods burned. A very great loss. His father³ hath lost above 1,000*l.* in books; one book newly printed, a Discourse, it seems, of Courts. Here I had the hap to see my Lady Denham: and at night went into the dining-room and saw several fine ladies; among others, Castlemaine, but chiefly Denham again; and the Duke of York taking her aside and talking to her in the sight of all the world, all alone; which was strange, and what also I did not like. Here I met with good Mr. Evelyn, who cries out against it, and calls it bitchering, for the Duke of York talks a little to her, and then she goes away, and then he follows her again like a dog. He observes that none of the nobility come out of the country at all to help the King, or comfort him, or prevent commotions at this fire; but do as if the

¹ John Dugdale, Chief Gentleman of the Chamber to Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and afterwards Windsor Herald. He died in 1700.

² Samuel Cromleholme, or Crumlum, Master of St. Paul's School.

³ William Dugdale, then Norroy Herald, knighted in 1676-7 and made Garter King-at-Arms. The work alluded to was the "*Origines Juridicales*."

King were nobody ; nor ne'er a priest comes to give the King and Court good council, or to comfort the poor people that suffer ; but all is dead, nothing of good in any of their minds : he bemoans it, and says he fears more ruin hangs over our heads. Thence away by coach, and called my wife at Unthank's, where she tells me she hath bought a gowne of 15s. per yard ; the same, before her face, my Lady Castlemaine this day bought also, which I seemed vexed for, though I do not grudge it her, but to incline her to have Mercer again, which I believe I shall do, but the girle, I hear, has no mind to come to us again, which vexes me. Being come home, I to Sir W. Batten's, and there hear our business was tendered to the House to-day, and a Committee of the whole House chosen to examine our accounts, and a great many Hotspurs enquiring into it, and likely to give us much trouble and blame, and perhaps (which I am afeard of) will find faults enow to demand better officers. This I do truly fear. Thence away with Sir W. Pen, who was there, and he and I walked in the garden by moonlight, and he proposes his and my looking out into Scotland about timber, and to use Pett there ; for timber will be a good commodity this time of building the City ; and I like the motion, and doubt not that we may do good in it. I was mightily pleased with our discourse, and so parted, and to the office to finish my journall for three or four days, and so home to supper, and to bed. Our fleete abroad, and the Dutch too, for all we know ; the weather very bad ;

and under the command of an unlucky man, I fear. God bless him, and the fleete under him !

27th. A very furious blowing night all the night ; and my mind still mightily perplexed with dreams, and burning the rest of the town, and waking in much pain for the fleete. I to look out Penny, my tailor, to speak for a cloak and cassock for my brother, who is coming to town ; and I will have him in a canonical dress, that he may be the fitter to go abroad with me. I then to the Exchequer, and there, among other things, spoke to Mr. Falconbridge about his girle I heard sing at Nonsuch, and took him and some other Exchequer men to the Sun Taverne, and there spent 2s. 6d. upon them, and he sent for the girle, and she has a pretty way of singing, but has almost forgot for want of practice. She is poor in clothes, and not bred to any carriage, but will be soon taught all, and if Mercer do not come again, I think we may have her upon better terms, and breed her to what we please. Thence to Sir W. Coventry's, and there dined with him and Sir W. Batten, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and Mr. Thin,¹ a pretty gentleman, going to Gottenburgh. Having dined, Sir W. Coventry, Sir W. Batten, and I to consider of some things more to be done in a list to be given to the Parliament of all our ships, and

¹ Thomas Thynne, Envoy Extraordinary to Sweden. He was the eldest son of Sir Thomas Thynne, Bart., of Kempford, by Mary, daughter of Thomas, first Lord Coventry, and on the murder of his cousin, Thomas Thynne, of Longleate, succeeded to all his possessions. In 1692 he was created Viscount Weymouth, and died in 1714, æt. 74.

time of entry and discharge. Sir W. Coventry seems to think they will soon be weary of the business, and fall quietly into the giving the King what is fit. This he hopes. Thence home to the office till night, and thence to Sir W. Batten's, and eat a barrel of oysters I did give them, and so home, and to bed. No newes of the fleete yet, but that they went by Dover on the 25th towards the Gun-fleete, but whether the Dutch be yet abroad, or no, we hear not. De Ruyter is not dead, but like to do well. Most think that the gross of the French fleete are gone home again.

28th. Lay long in bed, and am come to agreement with my wife to have Mercer again, on condition she may learn this winter two months to dance, and she promises me she will endeavour to learn to sing, and all this I am willing enough to. So up, and by and by the glazier comes to finish the windows of my house, which pleases me, and the bookbinder to gild the backs of my books. I got the glass of my book-presses to be done presently, which did mightily content me; and so to my office to my people, busy about our Parliament accounts; and so to dinner, and then at them again close. At night comes Sir W. Pen, and he broke to me a proposition of his and my joining in a design of fetching timber and deals from Scotland, by the help of Mr. Pett upon the place; which, while London is building, will yield good money. I approve it. We judged a third man, that is knowing, is necessary, and concluded on Sir W. Warren, and sent for him to come to us to-morrow

morning. I full of this all night, and the project of our man of war ; but he and I both dissatisfied with Sir W. Batten's proposing his son to be Lieutenant, which we, neither of us, like. He gone, I discoursed with W. Hewer about Mercer, having a great mind she should come to us again, and instructed him what to say to her mother about it. And so home, to supper, and to bed.

29th. A little meeting at the office by Sir W. Batten, Sir W. Pen, and myself, being the first since the fire. We rose soon, and comes Sir W. Warren, by our desire, and with Sir W. Pen and I talked of our Scotch motion, which Sir W. Warren did seem to be stumbled at, and did give no ready answer, but proposed something previous to it, which he knows would find us work, or writing to Mr. Pett to be informed how matters go there as to cost and ways of providing sawyers or saw-mills. We parted without coming to any good resolution in it, I discerning plainly that Sir W. Warren had no mind to it, but that he was surprised at our motion. He gone, I to some office business, and got done by night the lists that are to be presented to the Parliament Committee of the ships, number of men, and time employed since the war, and then I with it to St. James's, where Sir W. Coventry staid for me, and he and I perused our lists, and find to our great joy that the wages, victuals, wear and tear, cast by the medium of the men, will come to above 3,000,000 ; and that the extraordinaries, which all the world will allow us, will arise to more than will

justify the expence we have declared to have been at since the war, viz., 320,000*l.*, he and I being both mightily satisfied, he saying to me, that if God send us over this rubb, we must take another course for a better Comptroller. So we parted, and I to my wife at Unthanke's, who staid for the finishing her new best gowne (the best that ever I made her), coloured tabby, flowered, and so took it and her home; and then to my people, and having cut them out a little more work than they expected, viz., the writing over the lists in a new method, I home to bed, being in good humour, and glad of the end we have brought this matter to.

30th (Lord's day). Up, and to church, where I have not been a good while: and there the church infinitely thronged with strangers since the fire come into our parish; but not one handsome face in all of them, as if, indeed, there was a curse, as Bishop Fuller heretofore said, upon our parish. Here I saw Mercer come into the church, which I had a mind to, but she avoided looking up, which vexed me. A pretty good sermon, and then home, and a good dinner; and then to have my haire cut against winter close to my head, and then to church again. A sorry sermon, and then away home. W. Pen and I to walk to talk about several businesses, and then home; and my wife and I to read in Fuller's Church History, and so to supper and to bed. This month ends with my mind full of business and concernment how this office will speed with the Parliament, which begins to be mighty severe

in the examining our accounts, and the expence of the Navy this war.

October 1st. All the morning at the office, getting the list of all the ships and vessels employed since the war, for the Committee of Parliament. At noon with it to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and there dined with him. Thence I to White Hall, and there did hear Betty Michell was at this end of the towne, and so without breach of vowe did stay to endeavour to meet with her and carry her home ; but she did not come, so I lost my whole afternoon. But pretty ! how I took another pretty woman for her, taking her a clap on the breech, thinking verily it had been her. So away home, and my wife do tell me that W. Hewer tells her that Mercer has no mind to come. So I was angry at it, and resolved with her to have Falconbridge's girle, and I think it will be better for us, and will please me better with singing. With this resolution, to supper and to bed.

2nd. Up, and am sent for to Sir G. Carteret, and to him, and there he tells me how our lists are referred to a Sub-committee to consider and examine, and that I am ordered to be there this afternoon. So I away to White Hall to the House, and spoke to Sir W. Coventry, where he told me I must attend the Committee in the afternoon, and received some hints of more work to do. So I away to the Exchequer, and thence to an alehouse, and found Mr. Falconbrige, and agreed for his kinswoman to come to me. He says she can dress my wife, and will do anything we would have

her to do, and is of a good spirit and mighty cheerful. So away home, and eat a short dinner, and then with Sir W. Pen to White Hall, and do give his boy my book of papers to hold while he went into the Committee Chamber in the Inner Court of Wards, and I walked without with Mr. Slingsby, of the Tower, who did inform me mightily in several things; among others, that the heightening or lowering of money is only a cheat, and do good to some particular men, which, if I can but remember how, I am now by him fully convinced of. I into the Committee Chamber before the Committee sat, and there heard Birch discourse highly and understandingly about the Navy business and a proposal made heretofore to farm the Navy; but Sir W. Coventry did abundantly answer him, and is a most excellent person. By and by the Committee met, and appointed me to attend a Committee of them to-morrow at the office to examine our lists. This put me into a mighty fear and trouble, they doing it in a very ill humour, methought. So I away home full of trouble in mind to think what I shall be obliged to answer, that am neither fully fit, nor in any measure concerned to take the shame and trouble of this office upon me, but only from the inability and folly of the Comptroller that occasions it. When come home I to Sir W. Pen's, to his boy, for my book, and there find he hath it not, but delivered it to the doore-keeper of the Committee for me. This, added to my former disgust, made me stark mad, considering all the nakedness of the office lay

open in papers within these covers. I could not tell in the world what to do, but was mad on all sides, and that which made me worse Captain Cocke was there, and he did so curse and swear at the boy that told me. But coming to our rendezvous at the Swan Taverne, in King Streete, I found they have found the house-keeper, and the book simply locked up in the Court. So I staid and drank, and rewarded the doore-keeper, and away home, my heart lighter by all this, but to bed very sad notwithstanding, in fear of what will happen to-morrow.

3rd. Waked betimes, mightily troubled in mind, and in the most true trouble that I ever was in my life, saving in the business last year of the East India prizes. So up; and by and by, by eight o'clock, comes Birch, the first, with the lists and books of accounts delivered in. He calls me to work, and there he and I begun, when, by and by, comes Garraway,¹ the first time I ever saw him, and Sir W. Thompson and Mr. Boscawen. They to it, and I did make shift to answer them better than I expected. Sir W. Batten, Lord Brouncker, W. Pen, came in, but presently went out; and J. Minnes came in, and said two or three words from the purpose, but to do hurt; and so away he went also, and left me all the morning with them alone to stand or fall. At noon Sir W. Batten comes to invite them (though fast day) to

¹ He was an M. P., and appointed by the House to confer with Lord Shaftesbury respecting the charge against Pepys being popishly affected. See note to the Life, vol. i., and for his character, 6th October, 1666.

dinner, which they did, and good company they were, but especially Garraway. After dinner to work again, only the Committee and I, till dark night. And it ended with good peace, and much seeming satisfaction; but I find them wise and reserved, and instructed to hit all our blots, as among others, that we reckon the ships full manned from the beginning. They gone, and my heart eased of a great deale of fear and pain, and reckoning myself to come off with victory, because not overcome in anything or much foiled, I away to White Hall, and there among the ladies, and saw my Lady Castlemaine never looked so ill, nor Mrs. Stewart neither, as in this plain, natural dress. I was not pleased with either of them. So home, and there find my father and my brother come to towne — my father without my expectation; but glad I am to see him. And so to supper with him, and to work again at the office; then home, to set up all my folio books, which are come home gilt on the backs, very handsome to the eye. This night W. Pen told me W. Batten swears he will have nothing to do with the Privateer if his son do not go Lieutenant, which angers me and him; but we will be even with him, one way or other.

4th. Up, and mighty betimes, to Sir W. Coventry, to give him an account of yesterday's work, which do give him good content. He did then tell me his speech lately to the House in his owne vindication about the report of his selling of places, he having a small occasion offered him by chance, which he did

desire, and took, and did it to his content, and, he says, to the House's seeming to approve of it by their hum. He confessed how long he had done it, and how he desired to have something else; and, since then, he had taken nothing, and challenged all the world. I was glad of this also. Thence up to the Duke of York, by appointment, with my fellow officers, to complaine, but to no purpose, of want of money, and so away. I to Sir G. Carteret, to his lodging, and here discoursed much of the want of money and our being designed for destruction. How the King hath lost his power, by submitting himself to this way of examining his accounts, and is become but as a private man. He says the King is troubled at it, but they talk an entry ' shall be made, that it is not to be brought into example; that the King must, if they do not agree presently, make them a courageous speech, which he says he may do, the City of London being now burned, and himself master of an army, better than any prince before him, and so I believe. Thence home, about noon. After dinner the bookbinder came, and I sent by him some more books to gild. I to the office all day, and spent most of it with Sir W. Warren, and when all is done I do find him a mighty wise man as any I know, and his counsel as much to be followed. Late with Mr. Hater upon comparing the charge and husbandry of the last Dutch war with ours now, and do find good roome to

* In the Journals of the House of Commons.

think we have done little worse than they, whereof good use may and will be made. So home to supper, and to bed.

5th. Up, and with my father talking awhile, then to the office, and there troubled with a message from Lord Peterborough about money; but I did give as kind an answer as I could, though I hate him. Then to Sir G. Carteret to discourse about paying of part of the great ships come in, and so home again to compare the comparison of the two Dutch wars' charges for Sir W. Coventry, and then by water (and saw old Mr. Michell digging like a painfull father for his son) to him, and found him at dinner. After dinner to look over my papers, and comparing them with some notes of his. Then examined and liked well my notes, and away together to White Hall, in the way discoursing the inconvenience of the King's being thus subject to an account, but it will be remedied for the time to come, he thinks, if we can get over this, and I find he will have the Comptroller's business better done, swearing he will never be for a wit to be employed on business again. Thence home, and back again to White Hall, and there walked till night that the Committee came down, and there Sir W. Coventry tells me that the Sub-committee have made their report to the Grand Committee, and in pretty kind terms, and have agreed upon allowing us 4*l.* per head, which I am sure will do the business. But I have more worke cut out for me, to prepare a list of the extraordinaries, not to be included within

the 4th, against Monday. So away, and met with the Vice-Chamberlain, and I told him I had this evening in coming hither met with Captain Cocke, and he told me of a wild motion made in the House of Lords by the Duke of Buckingham for all men that had cheated the King to be declared traitors and felons, and that my Lord Sandwich was named. This put me into a great pain; so the Vice-Chamberlain, who had heard nothing of it, having been all day in the City, away with me to White Hall; and there came to me and told me that, upon Lord Ashly's asking their direction whether, being a peer, he should bring in his accounts to the Commons, which they did give way to, the Duke of Buckingham did move that, for the time to come, what I have written above might be declared by some fuller law than heretofore. Lord Ashly answered, that it was not the fault of the present laws, but want of proof; and so said the Lord Chancellor. He answered, that a better law, he thought, might be made: so the House laughing, did refer it to him to bring in a Bill to that purpose, and this was all. This day, coming home, Mr. Kirton's kinsman, my bookseller, came in my way; and so I am told by him that Mr. Kirton is utterly undone, and made 2 or 3,000*l.* worse than nothing, from being worth 7 or 8,000*l.* That the goods laid in the Churchyarde fired through the windows those in St. Fayth's church; and those coming to the warehouses' doors fired them, and burned all the books and the pillars of the church, so as the roof falling down, broke quite down,

which it did not do in the other places of the church, which is alike pillared (which I knew not before); but being not burned, they stand still. He do believe there is above 150,000*l.* of books burned; all the great booksellers almost undone: not only these, but their warehouses at their Hall, and under Christchurch, and elsewhere being all burned. A great want thereof there will be of books, specially Latin books and foreign books; and, among others, the Polyglottes¹ and new Bible, which he believes will be presently worth 40*l.* a-piece.

6th. Up, and having seen my brother in his casocke, which I am not the most satisfied in, being doubtfull at this time what course to have him profess to soon, to the office and there busy about a list of the extraordinaries of the charge of the fleete this war; and was led to go to the office of the ordnance to be satisfied in something, and find their accounts and books kept in mighty good order, but that they can give no light, nor will the nature of their affairs permit it to tell what the charge of the ordnance comes to a man a month. So home and to dinner, there coming Creed to me; but what with business

¹ Bishop Walton's great work, published in 1657, entitled "*Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*," in six large folio volumes. Nine languages are used in it, though no one book of the Bible is printed in so many. It was printed by subscription, under the patronage of Oliver Cromwell; but the Protector dying before it was finished, the bishop cancelled two leaves of the preface commendatory of his patron, and others were printed complimentary to Charles II. Hence the distinction of *republican* and *loyal* copies. The former are the most valued.

and my hatred to the man, I did not spend any time with him, but to Westminster Hall and then to St. James's, and there found Sir W. Coventry waiting for me, and I did give him a good account to his mind of the business he expected about extraordinaries and then fell to other talke, among others, our sad condition by want of a Comptroller ;¹ and it was his words, that he believes, besides all the shame and trouble he hath brought on the office, the King had better have given 100,000*l.* than ever have had him there. He did discourse about some of these discontented Parliament-men, and says that Birch is a false rogue, but that Garraway is a man that hath not been well used by the Court, though very stout to death, and hath suffered all that is possible for the King from the beginning. But discontented as he is, yet he never knew a Session of Parliament but he hath done some good deed for the King before it rose. I told him the passage Cocke told me of — his having begged a brace of bucks of the Lord Arlington for him, and when they came to him, he sent them back again. Sir W. Coventry told me, it is much to be pitied that the King should lose the service of a man so able and faithfull ; and that he ought to be brought over, but that is always observed, that by bringing over one discontented man, you raise up three in his room ; which is a State lesson I never knew before. But when others discover you fear, and that discontent procures

¹ Sir John Minnes performing the duties inefficiently.

favour, they will be discontented too, and impose on you. This morning my wife told me of a fine gentlewoman my Lady Pen tells her of, for 20*l.* per annum, that sings, dances, plays on four or five instruments and many other fine things, which pleases me mightily : and she sent to have her see her, which she did this afternoon ; but sings basely, and is a tawdry wench that would take 8*l.*, but neither my wife nor I think her fit to come.

7th (Lord's day). To church, and then home to dinner. Little Michell and his wife came to dine with us. After dinner to White Hall, where met by Sir W. Batten and Lord Brouncker, to attend the King and Duke of York at the Cabinet ; but nobody had determined what to speak of, but only in general to ask for money. So I was forced immediately to prepare in my mind a method of discoursing. And anon we were called in to the Green Room, where the King, Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Duke of Albemarle, 'Sirs G. Carteret, W. Coventry, Morrice. Nobody beginning, I did, and made a current, and I thought a good speech, laying open the ill state of the Navy : by the greatness of the debt ; greatness of work to do against next yeare ; the time and materials it would take ; and our incapacity, through a total want of money. I had no sooner done, but Prince Rupert rose up and told the King in a heat, that whatever the gentleman had said, he had brought home his fleete in as good a condition as ever any fleete was brought home ; that twenty

boats would be as many as the fleete would want : and all the anchors and cables left in the storm might be taken up again. This arose from my saying, among other things we had to do, that the fleete was come in — the greatest fleete that ever his Majesty had yet together, and that in as bad condition as the enemy or weather could put it ; and to use Sir W. Pen's words, who is upon the place taking a survey, he dreads the reports he is to receive from the Surveyors of its defects. I therefore did only answer, that I was sorry for his Highness's offence, but that what I said was but the report we received from those entrusted in the fleete to inform us. He muttered and repeated what he had said ; and so, after a long silence on all hands, nobody, not so much as the Duke of Albemarle, seconding the Prince, nor taking notice of what he said, we withdrew. I was not a little troubled at this passage, and the more when speaking with Jacke Fenn about it, he told me that the Prince will be asking now who this Pepys is, and find him to be a creature of my Lord Sandwich's, and therefore this was done only to disparage him. Anon they broke up, and Sir W. Coventry came out ; so I asked his advice. He told me he had said something to salve it, which was, that his Highnesse had, he believed, rightly informed the King that the fleete is in good condition to have staid out yet longer, and have fought the enemy, but yet that Mr. Pepys his meaning might be, that, though in so good condition, if they should come in and lie all the winter, we shall be very loth to send

them to sea for another year's service without great repairs. He said it would be no hurt if I went to him, and showed him the report himself brought up from the fleete, where every ship, by the Commander's report, do need more or less, and not to mention more of Sir W. Pen for doing him a mischief. So I said I would, but do not think that all this will redound to my hurt, because the truth of what I said will soon appear. Thence, having been informed that, after all this pains, the King hath found out how to supply us with 5 or 6,000*l.*, when 100,000*l.* were at this time but absolutely necessary, and we mentioned 50,000*l.* This is every day a greater and greater omen of ruine. God fit us for it! Home to supper with my father, and then all to bed. I made my brother in his cas-socke to say grace this day, but I like his voice so ill that I begin to be sorry he hath taken this order upon him.

8th. Towards noon, by water to Westminster Hall, and there by several hear that the Parliament do resolve to do something to retrench Sir G. Carteret's great salary; but cannot hear of any thing bad they can lay to his charge. The House did this day order to be engrossed the Bill against importing Irish cattle: a thing, it seems, carried on by the Western Parliament-men, wholly against the sense of most of the rest of the House; who think if you do this, you give the Irish again cause to rebel. Thus plenty on both sides makes us mad. The Committee of the Canary Company of both factions came to me for my Cozen

Roger that is of the Committee. To Unthank's where Mr. Falconbridge's girle is, and by and by comes my wife who likes her well, though I confess I cannot (though she be of my finding out and sings pretty well), because she will be raised from so mean a condition to so high all of a sudden; but she will be much to our profit, more than Mercer, less expense. Here we bespoke a new gowne for her, and to come to us on Friday. I by water with Mr. Pierce to White Hall, he in the way telling me how the Duke of York and Duke of Albemarle do not agree. The Duke of York is wholly given up to this Denham. The Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert do less agree. So that we are all in pieces, and nobody knows what will be done the next year. The King hath yesterday in Council declared his resolution of setting a fashion for clothes, which he will never alter.¹ It will be a vest, I know not well how; but it is to teach the nobility thrift, and will do good. By and by comes down from the Committee Sir W. Coventry, and I find him troubled at several things happened this afternoon, which vexes me also; our business looking worse and worse, and our worke growing on our hands. Time spending, and no money to set anything in hand with; the end thereof must be speedy ruine. The Dutch insult and have taken off Bruant's head, which they have not dared to do (though found guilty of the fault he did die for, of something of the Prince

¹ See 13th and 15th of this month.

of Orange's faction) till just now, which speaks more confidence in our being worse than before. Alderman Maynell, I hear, is dead. Thence returned in the darke by coach all alone, full of thoughts of the consequences of this ill complexion of affairs, and how to save myself and the little I have, which if I can do, I have cause to bless God that I am so well, and shall be well contented to retreat to Brampton, and spend the rest of my days there. So to my office, and finished my Journall with resolutions, if God bless me, to apply myself soberly to settle all matters for myself, and expect the event of all with comfort.

9th. To the office, where we sat the first day since the fire, I think. At noon home, and my uncle Thomas was there, and dined with my brother and I. At night to Sir W. Batten, where Sir R. Ford did occasion some discourse of sending a convoy to the Madeiras; and this did put us upon some new thoughts of sending our privateer thither on merchants' accounts, which I have more mind to, the profit being certain and occasion honest withall. So home, and to supper with my father, and then to set my remainder of my books gilt in order with much pleasure, and so late to bed.

10th. (Fast-day for the fire.) With Sir Batten by water to White Hall, and anon had a meeting before the Duke of York, where pretty to see how Sir W. Batten, that carried the surveys of all the fleete with him, to show their ill condition to the Duke of York, when he found the Prince there, did not speak one

word, though the meeting was of his asking — for nothing else. And when I asked him, he told me he knew the Prince too well to anger him, so that he was afeard to do it. Thence with him to Westminster, to the parish church,¹ where the Parliament-men, and Stillingfleete in the pulpit. So full, no standing there; so he and I to eat herrings at the Dog Taverne. And then to church again, and there was Mr. Frampton² in the pulpit, whom they cry up so much, a young man, and of a mighty ready tongue. I heard a little of his sermon, and liked it; but the crowd so great, I could not stay. So to the Swan, and baisais la fille, and drank, and then home by coach, and took father, wife, brother, and W. Hewer to Islington, where I find mine host dead. Here eat and drank, and merry; and so home, and with Captain Cocke into the office to hear his newes, who is mighty conversant with Garraway and those people, who tells me what they object as to the mal-administration of things as to money. But that they mean well, and will do well; but their reckonings are very good, and show great faults, as I

¹ St. Margaret's. Dr. Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's, preached before His Majesty at the Cathedral: Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter, before the House of Lords, in Westminster Abbey: and Dr. Stillingfleet and Dr. Frampton before the House of Commons, at St. Margaret's, Westminster. — *The London Gazette*, No. 94.

² Robert Frampton, a native of Pimperm, in Dorsetshire, educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and afterwards a student of Christ Church, and Chaplain to a man-of-war. In 1673 he became Dean of Gloucester, and in 1681 Bishop of that See; but refusing to take the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary, he was deprived, and retired into private life. Ob. 25th May, 1708.

will insert here. They say the king hath had towards this war expressly thus much : —

Royal Ayde	£ 2,450,000
More	1,250,000
Three months tax given the King by a power of raising a month's tax of 70,000 <i>l.</i> every year for three years	0,210,000
Customes, out of which the King did promise to pay 240,000 <i>l.</i> which for two years come to	0,480,000
Prizes, which they moderately reckon at	0,300,000
A debt declared by the Navy, by us	0,900,000
	<hr/>
	5,590,000

The whole charge of the Navy, as we state it for two years and a month, hath been but 3,200,000

So what is become of all this sum ? ¹ £ 2,390,000

He and I did bemoan our public condition. He tells me the Duke of Albemarle is under a cloud, and they have a mind at Court to lay him aside. This I know not ; but all things are not right with him, and I am glad of it, but sorry for the time. So home to supper, and to bed, it being my wedding night,² but how many years I cannot tell ; but my wife says ten.³

11th. Up, and discoursed with my father of my sending some money for safety into the country, for I am in pain what to do with what I have. I did give him money, poor man, and he overjoyed. So left

¹ The remainder of the receipts.

² According to the extract from the register of St. Margaret's Parish, Westminster, Pepys was married 1st December, 1655. (M. B.)

³ It was eleven years.

him, and to the office, where nothing but sad evidences of ruine coming on us for want of money.

Memorandum. I had taken my Journall during the fire and the disorders following in loose papers until this very day, and could not get time to enter them in my book till January 18, in the morning, having made my eyes sore by frequent attempts this winter to do it. But now it is done, for which I thank God, and pray never the like occasion may happen.

12th. Up, and after taking leave of my poor father, who is setting out this day for Brampton by the Cambridge coach, he having taken a journey to see the city burned, and to bring my brother to towne, I out by water; and so by coach to St. James's, the weather being foul; and there, from Sir W. Coventry, do hear how the House have cut us off 150,000*l.* of our wear and tear, for that which was saved by the King while the fleete lay in harbour in winter. However, he seems pleased, and so am I, that they have abated no more, and do intend to allow of 28,000 men for the next year; and this day have appointed to declare the sum they will give the King,¹ and to propose the way of raising it; so that this is likely to be the great day. This done in his chamber, I with him to Westminster Hall, and find that people have a mighty mind to have a fling at the Vice-Chamberlain, if they could lay hold of anything, his place being, indeed, too much for such, they think, or any single subject

¹ The Parliament voted this day a supply of 1,800,000*l.* sterling.

of no greater parts and quality than he, to enjoy. But I hope he may weather all, though it will not be by any dexterity of his, I dare say, if he do stand, but by his fate only, and people's being taken off by other things. So home, and find my wife come home, and hath brought her new girle I have helped her to, of Mr. Falconbridge's. She is wretched poor, and but ordinary favoured; and we fain to lay out seven or eight pounds worth of clothes upon her back, which, methinks, do go against my heart; and I do not think I can ever esteem her as I could have done another that had come fine and handsome; and which is more, her voice, for want of use, is so furred, that it do not at present please me; but her manner of singing is such, that I shall, I think, take great pleasure in it. Well, she is come, and I wish us good fortune in her. Here I met with notice of a meeting of the Commissioners for Tangier to-morrow, and so I must have my accounts ready for them.

13th. My accounts cost me till four o'clock in the morning, and, which was pretty to think, I was above an hour, after I had made all right, in casting up of about twenty sums, being dozed with much work, and had for forty times together forgot to carry the 60 which I had in my mind, in one denomination which exceeded 60; and this did confound me for above an hour together. At last all even and done, and so to bed. Up at seven, and so to the office. At noon to dinner at a cook's, and thence to my Lord Bellassis', whom I find kind; but he had drawn some new pro-

posál to deliver to the Lords Commissioners to-day, wherein one was, that the garrison would not be well paid without some goldsmith's undertaking the paying of the bills of exchange for Tallys. He professing so much kindness to me, and saying that he would not be concerned in the garrison without me ; and that if he continued in the employment, no man should have to do with the money but myself. I did ask his Lordship's meaning of the proposition in his paper. He told me he had not much considered it, but that he meant no harm to me. I told him I thought it would render me useless ; whereupon he did very frankly, after my seeming denials for a good while, cause it to be writ over again, and that clause left out, which did satisfy me abundantly. It being done, he and I together to White Hall, and there the Duke of York (who is gone over to all his pleasures again, and leaves off care of business, what with his woman, my Lady Denham, and his hunting three times a week) was just come in from hunting. So I stood and saw him dress himself, and try on his vest, which is the King's new fashion, and he will be in it for good and all on Monday next, and the whole Court : it is a fashion, the King says, he will never change. He being ready, he and my Lord Chancellor, and Duke of Albemarle, and Prince Rupert, Lord Bellassis, Sir H. Cholmly, Povy, and myself, met at a Committee for Tangier. My Lord Bellassis's propositions were read and discoursed of, about reducing the garrison to less charge ; and indeed I am mad in love with my Lord

Chancellor, for he do comprehend and speak out well, and with the greatest easinesse and authority that ever I saw man in my life. I did never observe how much easier a man do speak when he knows all the company to be below him, than in him; for though he spoke, indeed, excellent well, yet his manner and freedom of doing it, as if he played with it, and was informing only all the rest of the company, was mighty pretty. He did call again and again upon Mr. Povy for his accounts. I did think fit to make the solemn tender of my accounts that I intended. I said something that was liked, touching the want of money, and the bad credit of our tallys. My Lord Chancellor moved, that without any trouble to any of the rest of the Lords, I might alone attend the King, when he was with his private Council, and open the state of the garrison's want of credit; and all that could be done, should. Most things moved were referred to Committees, and so we broke up. And at the end Sir W. Coventry came; so I away with him, and he discoursed with me something of the Parliament's business. They have voted giving the King for next year 1,800,000*l.*; which, were it not for his debts, were a great sum. He says, he thinks the House may say no more to us for the present, but that we must mend our manners against the tryall, and mend them we will. But he thinks it not a fit time to be found making of trouble among ourselves, meaning about Sir J. Minnes, who most certainly must be removed, or made a Commissioner, and somebody else

Comptroller. But he tells me that the House has a great envy at Sir G. Carteret, and that had he ever thought fit in all his discourse to have touched upon the point of our want of money and badness of payment, it would have been laid hold on to Sir G. Carteret's hurt ; but he hath avoided it, though without much reason for it, most studiously, and in short did end thus, that he has never shown so much of the pigeon in all his life as in his innocence to Sir G. Carteret at this time ; which I believe, and will desire Sir G. Carteret to thank him for it.

14th. (Lord's day.) Lay long in bed, among other things, talking of my wife's renewing her acquaintance with Mrs. Pierce, which, by my wife's ill using her when she was here last, has been interrupted. Herein we were a little angry together, but presently friendly again ; and so up, and I to church, which was mighty full, and my beauties, Mrs. Lethalier¹ and fair Batelier, both there. A very foul morning, and rained ; and sent for my cloake to go out of the church with. After dinner to Westminster Abbey. Here I met with Sir Stephen Fox, who told me how much right I had done myself, and how well it was represented by the Committee to the House, my readinesse to give them satisfaction in everything when they were at the office. I was glad of this. He did further discourse of Sir W. Coventry's great abilities, and how necessary it were that I were of the House to assist him. I did

¹ See 13th December, 1665.

not owne it, but do myself think it were not unnecessary if either he should die, or be removed to the Lords, or any thing happen to hinder his doing the like service the next trial, which makes me think that it were not a thing very unfit; but I will not move in it.

15th. Called up, though a very rainy morning, by Sir H. Cholmley, and he and I most of the morning together evening of accounts, which I was very glad of. Then he and I out to Sir Robt. Viner's, at the African house (where I have not been since he came thither); but he was not there; but I did some business with his people, and then to Covill's, who, I find, lives now in Lyme Streete, and with the same credit as ever, this fire having not done them any wrong that I hear of at all. Thence he and I together to Westminster Hall, in our way talking of matters and passages of state, the viciousness of the Court; the contempt the King brings himself into thereby; his minding nothing, but doing all things just as his people about him will have it; the Duke of York becoming a slave to this strumpet Denham, and wholly minds her; that there really were amours between the Duchesse and Sidney; that there is reason to fear that, as soon as the Parliament have raised this money, the King will see that he hath got all that he can get, and then make up a peace. He tells me, what I wonder at, but that I find it confirmed by Mr. Pierce, whom I met by-and-by in the Hall, that Sir W. Coventry is of the caball with the Duke of York, and

Brouncker, with this Lady Denham ; which is a shame, and I am sorry for it, and that Sir W. Coventry do make her visits ; but yet I hope it is not so. Pierce tells me, that as little agreement as there is between the Prince¹ and Duke of Albemarle, yet they are likely to go to sea again ; for the first will not be trusted alone, and nobody will go with him but this Duke of Albemarle. He tells me much how all the commanders of the fleete and officers that are sober men do cry out upon their bad discipline, and the ruine that must follow it if it continue. But that which I wonder most at, it seems their secretaries have been the most exorbitant in their fees to all sorts of the people, that it is not to be believed that they durst do it, so as it is believed they have got 800*l.* apiece by the very vacancies in the fleete. He tells me that Lady Castlemaine is concluded to be with child again ; and that all the people about the King do make no scruple of saying that the King do intrigue with Mrs. Stewart, who, he says, is a most excellent-natured lady. This day the King begins to put on his vest, and I did see several persons of the House of Lords and Commons too, great courtiers, who are in it ; being a long cassocke close to the body, of black cloth, and pinked with white silke under it, and a coat over it, and the legs ruffled with black riband like a pigeon's leg ; and, upon the whole, I wish the King may keep it, for it is a very fine and

¹ Prince Rupert.

handsome garment.¹ Out comes Sir W. Coventry, and he and I talked of business. Among others I proposed the making Sir J. Minnes a Commissioner, and make somebody else Comptroller. He tells me it is the thing he has been thinking of, and hath spoke to the Duke of York of it. He believes it will be done; but that which I fear is that Pen will be Comptroller, which I shall grudge a little. The Duke of Buckingham called him aside and spoke a good while with him. I did presently fear it might be to discourse something of his design to blemish my Lord of Sandwich, in pursuance of the wild motion he made the other day in the House. Sir W. Coventry, when he came to me again, told me that he had wrought a miracle, which was, the convincing the Duke of Buckingham that something—he did not name what—that he had intended to do was not fit to be done, and that the Duke is gone away of that opinion. This makes me verily believe it was something like what

¹ Rugge, in his "Diurnal," thus describes the new Court costume:—"1666, Oct. 11. In this month His Majestie and whole Court changed the fashion of their clothes—viz, a close coat of cloth pinkt, with a white taffety under the cutts. This in length reached the calf of the leg, and upon that a sercoat cutt at the breast, which hung loose and shorter than the vest six inches. The breeches the Spaniah cut, and buskins some of the cloth, some of leather, but of the same colour as the vest or garment; of never the like fashion since William the Conqueror." Evelyn says, "It was a comely and manly habit, too good to hold, it being impossible for us, in good earnest, to leave the *Monsieur's* vanities long." See also his "Diary," Oct. 18, 1666. Charles resolved never to alter it, and "to leave the French mode, which had hitherto obtained, to our great expence and reproach." But his inconsistency was so well known that "divers gentlemen and courtiers gave him gold, by way of wagers, that he would not persist in his resolution."—*Quarterly*

I feared. By and by the House rose, and then I with Sir G. Carteret, and walked in the Exchequer Court, discoursing of business. Among others, I observing to him how friendly Sir W. Coventry had carried himself to him in these late inquiries, when, if he had borne him any spleen, he could have had what occasion he pleased offered him, he did confess he found the same thing, and would thanke him for it. I did give him some other advices, and so away with him to his lodgings at White Hall to dinner, where my Lady Carteret is, and mighty kind, both of them, to me. Their son and my Lady Jemimah will be here very speedily. She tells me the ladies are to go into a new fashion shortly, and that is, to wear short coats, above their ancles; which she and I do not like, but conclude this long trayne to be mighty graceful. But she cries out of the vices of the Court, and how they are going to set up plays already; and how, the next day after the late great fast, the Duchesse of York did give the King and Queene a play. Nay, she told me that they have heretofore had plays at Court the very nights before the fast for the death of the late King. She do much cry out upon these things, and that which she believes will undo the whole nation; and I fear so too. After dinner away home, Mr. Brisband along with me as far as the Temple, and there looked

Review, vol. xix. p. 41. It is represented in a portrait of Lord Arlington, by Sir P. Lely, formerly belonging to Lord de Clifford, and engraved in Lodge's "Illustrious Persons." Louis XIV. ordered his servants to wear the dress. See Nov. 22, 1666, *post*.

upon a new booke, set out by one Rycault,¹ secretary to my Lord Winchelsea, of the policy and customs of the Turks, which is, it seems, much cried up. But I could not stay, but home. I find Balty come back, and with him some muster-books, which I am glad of, and hope he will do me credit in his employment. At Sir W. Batten's I met Sir W. Pen, lately come from the fleete at the Nore; and here were many good fellows, among others Sir Ralph Holmes, who is exceeding kind to me, more than usual, which makes me afraid of him, though I do much wish his friendship. Thereupon, after a little stay, I withdrew, and to the office awhile, and then home to supper and to my chamber to settle a few papers, and then to bed. This day the great debate was in Parliament, the manner of raising the 1,800,000*l.* they voted the King on Friday; and at last, after many proposals, one moved that the Chimney-money might be taken from the King, and an equal revenue of something else might be found for the King, and people be enjoined to buy off this tax of Chimney-money for ever at eight years' purchase, which will raise present money, as they think, 1,600,000*l.*, and the State be eased of an ill burthen and the King be supplied of something as good or better for his use. The House seems to like this, and put off the debate to to-morrow.

16th. Up, and to the office, where sat to do little

¹ Sir Paul Ricaut or Rycault. In 1661 he accompanied Lord Winchelsea, the ambassador at the Ottoman Court, as secretary, and while there he wrote "The Present State of the Ottoman Porte," in three books. (M. B.)

business but hear clamours for money. To dinner, and to the office again, after hearing my brother play a little upon the Lyra viall, which he do so as to show that he hath a love to musique and a spirit for it, which I am well pleased with. All the afternoon at the office, and at night with Sir W. Batten, Sir W. Pen, and Sir J. Minnes, at Sir W. Pen's lodgings, advising about business and orders fit presently to make about discharging of ships come into the river, and which to pay first, and many things in order thereto. But it vexed me that, it being now past seven o'clock, and the business of great weight, and I had done them by eight o'clock, and sending them to be signed, they were all gone to bed, and Sir W. Pen, though awake, would not, being in bed, have them brought to him to sign; this made me quite angry. Late at work at the office, and then home to supper and to bed. Not come to any resolution at the Parliament to-day about the manner of raising this 1,800,000*l*.

17th. To dinner, alone with my brother, with whom I had now the first private talke I have had, and find he hath preached but twice in his life. I did give him some advice to study pronounciation; but I do fear he will never make a good speaker, nor, I fear, any general good scholar, for I do not see that he minds optickes or mathematiques of any sort, nor anything else that I can find. I know not what he may be at divinity and ordinary school-learning. However, he seems sober, and that pleases me. After dinner I took him and my wife and Barker (for so is our new

woman called, and is yet but a sorry girl), and set them down at Unthanke's, and so to White Hall, and there found some of my brethren with the Duke of York, but so few I put off the meeting. We staid and hear the Duke discourse, which he did mighty scurilously, of the French, and with reason, that they should give Beaufort¹ orders when he was to bring, and did bring, his fleete hither, that his rendezvous for his fleete, and for all sluggs to come to, should be between Calais and Dover; which did prove the taking of La Roche, who, among other sluggs behind, did, by their instructions, make for that place, to rendezvous with the fleete; and Beaufort, seeing them as he was returning, took them for the English fleete, and wrote word to the King of France that he had passed by the English fleete, and the English fleete durst not meddle with him. The Court is all full of vests, only my Lord St. Albans not pinked but plain black; and they say the King says the pinking upon whites makes them look too much like magpyes, and therefore hath bespoke one of plain velvet. Thence to St. James's by coach, and spoke, at four o'clock or five, with Sir W. Coventry, newly come from the House, where they have sat all this day and not come to an end of the debate how the money shall be raised. He

¹ François de Vendôme, Duc de Beaufort, well known in the annals of France, was born in 1616, and in 1664 and 1665 commanded a naval expedition against the African corsairs (See 11th October, 1664, *ante*.) The following year he had the charge of a fleet intended to act in concert with the Dutch against England, but which was merely sent out as a political demonstration. He was killed at the siege of Candia in 1669.

tells me that what I proposed to him the other day was what he had himself thought on and determined, and believes it will speedily be done — the making Sir J. Minnes a Commissioner, and bringing somebody else to be Comptroller, and that (which do not please me, I confess, for my own particular, so well as Sir J. Minnes) will, I fear, be Sir W. Pen, for he is the only fit man for it. Home, and late upon making up an account for the Board to pass to-morrow, if I can get there, for the clearing all my imprest¹ bills, which if I can do, will be to my very good satisfaction. Having done this, then to supper and to bed.

18th. To the office, where we sat all the morning. The waters so high in the roads, by the late rains, that our letters came not in till to-day. My Lord Brouncker proffered to carry me and my wife into a play at Court to-night, and to lend me his coach home, which tempted me much ; but I shall not do it. Homewards, met my wife, and so away by coach towards Lovett's ; in the way wondering at what a good pretty wench our Barker makes, being now put into good clothes, and fashionable, at my charge ; but it becomes her, so that I do not now think much of it, and is an example of the power of good clothes and dress. To Lovett's house, where I stood god-father.

¹ See note 28th November, 1660, and "Notes and Queries," 1st series, vol. ii. page 40: "When a person fulfilling any employment under any of the Government Boards has occasion to draw 'money on account,' an 'imprest' addressed to the paymaster under that Board is issued for the required sum." (M. B.)

But it was pretty, that, being a Protestant, a man stood by and was my Proxy to answer for me. A priest christened it, and the boy's name is Samuel. The ceremonies many, and some foolish. The priest in a gentleman's dress, more than my owne; but is a Capuchin, one of the Queene-mother's priests. He did give my proxy and the woman proxy (my Lady Bills,¹ absent, had a proxy also,) good advice to bring up the child, and, at the end, that he ought never to marry the child nor the godmother, nor the godmother the child or the godfather: but, which is strange, they say the mother of the child and the godfather may marry. By and by the Lady Bills came in, a well-bred but crooked woman. The poor people of the house had good wine, and a good cake; and she a pretty woman in her lying-in dress. It cost me near 40s. the whole christening: to midwife 20s., nurse 10s., mayde 2s. 6d., and the coach 5s. The business of buying off the Chimney-money is passed in the House; and so the King to be satisfied some other way, and the King supplied with the money raised by this purchasing off of the chimnies. So home, mightily pleased in mind that I have got my bills of imprest cleared by bills signed this day, to my good satisfaction. To supper, and to bed.

¹ Lady Diana Fane, daughter of Mildmay Fane, second Earl of Westmoreland, widow of Edward Pelham, Esq., of Brocklesby, in Lincolnshire, remarried John Bills, Esq., of Caen Wood, Highgate. Her only child, Diana, by her second husband, died the widow of Captain Francis D'Arcy Savage, 23rd May, 1726, and is buried at Barnes. Lady Diana Bills was at this time in her 36th year.

19th. To Povy's, who continues as much confounded in all his business as ever he was ; and would have had me paid money, as like a fool as himself, which I troubled him in refusing ; but I did persist in it. After a little more discourse, I to White Hall, where I met with Sir Robert Viner, who told me a little of what, in going home, I had seen ; also a little of the disorder and mutiny among the seamen at the Treasurer's office, which did trouble me then and all day, considering how many more seamen will come to towne every day, and no money for them. A Parliament sitting, and the Exchange close by, and an enemy to hear of, and laugh at it.¹ Viner too, and Backewell, were sent for this afternoon ; and was before the King and his Cabinet about money ; they declaring they would advance no more, it being discoursed of in the House of Parliament for the King to issue out his privy-seals to them to command them to trust him, which gives them reason to decline trusting. But more money they are persuaded to lend, but so little that, (with horreur I speake it) coming after the Council was up, with Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Coventry, Lord Brouncker, and myself, I did lay the state of our condition before the Duke of York, that the fleete could not go out without several things it wanted, and we could not have without money, particularly rum and bread, which we had promised the man Sway to helpe him to 200*l.* of his debt, and a

¹ War was declared against Denmark this day.

few other small sums of 200*l.* a piece to some others, and that I do foresee the Duke of Yorke would call us to an account why the fleet is not abroad, and we cannot answer otherwise than our want of money; and that indeed we do not do the King any service now, but do rather abuse and betray his service by being there, and seeming to do something, while we do not. Sir G. Carteret asked me (just in these words, for in this and all the rest I set down the very words for memory sake, if there should be occasion,) whether 50*l.* or 60*l.* would do us any good; and when I told him the very rum man¹ must have 200*l.*, he held up his eyes as if we had asked a million. Sir W. Coventry told the Duke of Yorke plainly he did rather desire to have his commission called in than serve in so ill a place, where he cannot do the King service, and I did concur in saying the same. This was all very plain, and the Duke of York did confess that he did not see how we could do anything without a present supply of 20,000*l.*, and that he would speak to the King next Council day, and I promised to wait on him to put him in mind of it. This I set down for my future justification, if need be, and so we broke up, and all parted. So I home by coach, considering what the consequence of all this must be in a little time. Nothing but distraction and confusion; which makes me wish with all my heart, that I were well and quietly settled with what little² I have got at

¹ Mr. Sway. (M. B.)

Brampton, where I might live peaceably, and study, and pray for the good of the King and my country. Home, and to Sir W. Batten's, who was at the pay to day, and tells me how rude the men were, but did go away quietly, being promised pay on Wednesday next. God send us money for it! So to the office, and then to supper and to bed. Among other things proposed in the House to-day, to give the King in lieu of chimneys, there was the bringing up of sealed paper, such as Sir J. Minnes showed me to-night, at Sir W. Batten's, is used in Spayne, and brings the King a great revenue; but it shows what shifts we are put to too much.

20th. I walked a good while with Mr. Gauden in the garden, who is lately come from the fleete at the buoy of the Nore, and he do tell me how all the sober commanders, and even Sir Thomas Allen himself, do complain of the ill government of the fleete. How Holmes and Jennings have commanded all the fleete this yeare, that nothing is done upon deliberation, but if a sober man gives his opinion otherwise than the Prince would have it the Prince would cry, "D——n him, do you follow your orders, and that is enough for you." He tells me he hears of nothing but of swearing and drinking and debauchery, and all manner of profanenesses, quite through the whole fleete. He being gone, there comes to me Commissioner Middleton,¹ whom I took on purpose to walk in the garden,

¹ Thomas Middleton, made a Commissioner of the Navy, 1664.

and to learn what he observed when the fleet was at Portsmouth. He says that the fleet was in such a condition, as to discipline as if the Devil had commanded it; so much wickedness of all sorts. Enquiring how it came to pass that so many ships had miscarried this year, he tells me that he enquired; and the pilots do say, that they dare not do nor go but as the Captains will have them; and if they offer to do otherwise, the Captains swear they will run them through. He says that he heard Captain Digby¹ (my Lord of Bristol's son, a young fellow that never was but one year, if that, in the fleet,) say that he did hope he should not see a tarpaulin² have the command of a ship within this twelve months. He observed while he was on board the Admirall, when the fleet was at Portsmouth, that there was a faction there. Holmes commanded all on the Prince's side, and Sir Jeremy Smith on the Duke's, and every body that came did apply themselves to one side or other; and when the Duke of Albemarle was gone away to come hither, then Sir Jeremy Smith did hang his head, and walked in the Generall's ship but like a private commander. He says he was on board the Prince, when the news came of the burning of London; and all the Prince said was, that now Shipton's prophecy was out;³ and

¹ Francis Digby, afterwards Colonel. He was killed in the sea-fight at Solebay.

² See Trench's Select Glossary, p. 207, "Tarpaulin. Not any longer used except in the shorter form of 'tar' for sailor." (M. B.)

³ Evidently the concluding passage of "Mother Shipton's Prophecies," viz., "A ship come sayling up the Thames to London, and the master of the

he heard a young commander presently swear, that now a citizen's wife that would not take under half a piece before, would be contented with half-a-crowne: and made mighty sport of it. He says he do wonder that there has not been more mischief this year than there has. He says the fleete came to anchor between the Horse and the Island, so that when they came to weigh many of the ships could not turn, but run foul of the Horse, and there stuck, but that the weather was good. He says that nothing can do the King more disservice, nor please the standing officers of the ship better than these silly commanders that now we have, for they sign to anything that their officers desire of them, nor have judgment to contradict them if they would. He told me many other good things, which made me bless God that we have received no greater disasters this year than we have, though they have been the greatest that ever was known in England before, put all their losses of the King's ships by want of skill and seamanship together from the beginning. He being gone, comes Sir G. Carteret, and he and I walked together awhile, discoursing upon the sad condition of the times, what needs we have, and how impossible it is to get money. He told me my Lord Chancellor the other day did ask him how it

ship shall weepe, and the mariners shall aske him why he weepeth, being he hath made so good a voyage, and he shall say, 'Ah, what a goodlie citie this was! none in the world comparable to it; and now there is scarcely left any house that can let us have drinke for our money.'"' Quoted from the edition of 1641, which Prince Rupert might have seen.

came to pass that his friend Pepys do so much magnify all things to worst, as I did on Sunday last, in the bad condition of the fleete ; and he tells me that he answered him, that I was but the mouth of the rest, and spoke what they have dictated to me ; which did, as he says, presently take off his displeasure. So that I am well at present with him, but I must have a care not to be over busy in the office again, and burn my fingers. He tells me he wishes he had sold his place at some good rate to somebody or other at the beginning of the warr, and that he would do it now, but nobody will deale with him for it. He tells me the Duke of Albemarle is very much discontented, and the Duke of York do not, it seems, please him. Thence, with Sir G. Carteret, home to dinner, with him, my Lady and Mr. Ashburnham, the Cofferer. Here they talk that the Queene hath a great mind to alter her fashion, and to have the feet seen, which she loves mightily ; and they do believe that it will come into it in a little time. Here I met with the King's declaration about his proceedings with the King of Denmarke, and particularly the business of Bergen ; but it is so well writ, that, if it be true, the King of Denmarke is one of the most absolute wickednesse in the world for a person of his quality. After dinner home, and there met Mr. Povy by appointment, and there he and I, till late at night, evening of all accounts between us, which we did to both our satisfaction ; but that which troubles me most is, that I am to refund to the ignoble Lord Peterborough what he had given us six

months ago, because we did not supply him with money ; but it is no great matter. So home to supper and to bed.

21st. (Lord's day.) Up and with my wife to church, and her new woman Barker with her the first time. The girle will, I think, do very well. Here a lazy sermon, and so home to dinner, and took in my Lady Pen and Peg (Sir William being below with the fleete), and mighty merry we were, and after dinner presently I by coach to White Hall, and there attended the Cabinet, and was called in before the King and them to give an account of our want of money for Tangier, which troubles me that it should be my place so often and so soon after one another to come to speak there of their wants — the thing of the world they love least to hear, and that which is no welcome thing to be the solicitor for — and to see how like an image the King sat and could not speak one word when I had delivered myself was very strange ; only my Lord Chancellor did ask me, whether I thought it was in nature at this time to help us to anything. So I was referred to another meeting of the Lords Commissioners for Tangier and my Lord Treasurer, and so went away, and by coach home, where I spent the evening in reading Stillingfleet's defence of the Archbishopp, the part about Purgatory, a point I have never considered before, what was said for it or against it, and though I do believe we are in the right, yet I do not see any great matter in this book. So to supper ; and my people being gone, most of them, to bed, my boy and Jane

and I did get two of my iron chests out of the cellar into my closett, and the money to my great satisfaction to see it there again. This afternoon walking with Sir H. Cholmly long in the gallery, he told me, among many other things, how Harry Killigrew¹ is banished the Court lately, for saying that my Lady Castlemaine was a little lecherous girle when she was young. This she complained to the King of, and he sent to the Duke of York, whose servant he is, to turn him away. The Duke of York hath done it, but takes it ill of my Lady that he was not complained to first. She attended him to excuse it, but ill blood is made by it. He told me how Mr. Williamson stood in a little place to have come into the House of Commons, and they would not choose him; they said, "No courtier." And which is worse, Bab May went down in great state to Winchelsea with the Duke of York's letters, not doubting to be chosen; and there the people chose a private gentleman in spite of him, and cried out they would have no Court pimp to be their burgesse; which are things that bode very ill.

22nd. To Westminster Hall, and so home, where I find Mr. Cæsar playing the treble to my boy upon the Theorbo, the first time I heard him, which pleases me mightily. After dinner by coach, lighting at the Temple, and there, being a little too soon, walked in the Temple Church, looking with pleasure on the monu-

¹ Son of Tom Killigrew by his first wife, Mrs. Cecilia Crofts. He was baptized in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, 16th April, 1637, and is called "young," to distinguish him from his uncle of the same name, who was Master of the Savoy.

ments and epitaphs, and then to my Lord Belassis, where Creed and Povy by appointment met to discourse of some of their Tangier accounts between my Lord and Vernatty, who will prove a very knave. That being done I away to Unthank's, and there take up my wife, and so home, it being very foule and darke. Being there come, I to the settling of my money matters in my chests, and evening some accounts to my extraordinary content, and especially to see all things hit so even and right and with an apparent profit and advantage since my last accounting, but how much I cannot particularly yet come to adjudge. Late to supper and to bed.

23rd. Sir W. Batten told me Sir R. Ford would accept of one-third of my profit of our private man-of-war, and bear one-third of the charge, and be bound in the Admiralty, so I shall be excused being bound, which I like mightily of, and did draw up a writing, as well as I could, to that purpose. After dinner, it being late, I down by water to Shadwell, to see Betty Michell, the first time I was ever in their new dwelling since the fire, and there found her in the house all alone. I found her mighty modest, and indeed she is mighty pretty, that I love her exceedingly. I paid her 10*l.* 1*s.* that I received upon a ticket for her husband, which is a great kindness I have done them, and having kissed her as much as I would, I away, poor wretch, and down to Deptford to see Sir J. Minnes ordering of the pay of some ships there, which he do most miserably, and so home.

24th. Up, and down to the Old Swan, and there

found little Michell come to his new shop. I hope he will do good here. I drank and bade him joy, for I love him and his wife well, him for his care, and her for her person, and so to White Hall, where we attended the Duke ; and to all our complaints for want of money, which now we are tired out with making, the Duke only tells us that he is sorry for it, and hath spoke to the King of it, and money we shall have as soon as it can be found ; and though all the issue of the war lies upon it, yet that is all the answer we can get, and that is as bad or worse than nothing. I to the Hall and there walked long, among others, talking with Mr. Hayes, Prince Rupert's Secretary, a very ingenious man, and one, I think, fit to contract some friendship with. Here I staid late, walking to and again, hearing how the Parliament proceeds, which is mighty slowly in the settling of the money business, and great factions growing every day among them. I am told also how Holmes did last Sunday deliver in his articles to the King and Cabinet against [Sir Jeremy] Smith, and that Smith hath given in his answer, and lays his not accompanying the fleete to his pilot, who would not undertake to carry the ship further ; which the pilot acknowledges. The thing is not accommodated, but only taken up, and both sides commanded to be quiet ; but no peace like to be. The Duke of Albemarle is Smith's friend, and hath publicly swore that he would never go to sea again unless Holmes's commission were taken from him. I find by Hayes¹ that they did ex-

¹ Prince Rupert's secretary.

pect great glory in coming home in so good condition as they did with the fleete, and therefore I the less wonder that the Prince was distasted with my discourse the other day about the sad state of the fleete. But it pleases me to hear that he did expect great thanks, and lays the fault of the want of it upon the fire, which deadened everything, and the glory of his services. Home and called my wife, and, it being moonshine, took her into the garden, and there layed open our condition as to our estate, and the danger of having it [his money] all in the house at once, in case of any disorder or troubles in the State, and therefore resolved to remove part of it to Brampton, and part some whither else, and part in my owne house, which is very necessary, and will tend to our safety, though I shall not think it safe out of my owne sight.

25th. Up betimes and by water to White Hall, and there with Sir G. Carteret to Sir W. Coventry, who is come to his winter lodgings at White Hall, and there agreed upon a method of paying of tickets; and so I back again home and to the office, where we sate all the morning, but to little purpose but to receive clamours for money. After dinner I out with my wife to Mrs. Pierce's, where she has not been a great while, from some little unkindness¹ of my wife's to her when she was last here, but she received us with mighty respect and discretion, and was making herself mighty fine to go to a great ball to-night at Court, being the

¹ See 6th August, 1666. (M. B.)

Queene's birthday ; so the ladies for this one day to wear laces, but are to put them off again to-morrow. Thence I to my Lord Brouncker's, and with him to Mrs. Williams's, where we met Knipp. I was glad to see the jade. Made her sing ; and she told us they begin at both houses to act on Monday next. But I fear after all this sorrow, their gains will be but little. Mrs. Williams says, the Duke's house will now be much the better of the two, because of their women ; which I am glad to hear. Then I away to Mrs. Pierce's, and there saw her new closett, which is mighty rich and fine. Her daughter Betty grows mighty pretty. Thence with my wife home and to do business at the office. Then to Sir W. Batten's, who tells me that the House of Parliament makes mighty little haste in settling the money, and that he knows not when it will be done ; but they fall into faction, and libells have been found in the House. Among others, one yesterday, wherein they reckon up divers great sums to be given away by the King, among others, 10,000*l.* to Sir W. Coventry, for weare and teare, the point he stood upon to advance that sum by, for them to give the King ; Sir G. Carteret 50,000*l.* for something else, I think supernumerarys ; and so to Matt. Wren 5,000*l.* for passing the Canary Company's patent ; and so a great many other sums to other persons.

26th. Up, and all the morning and most of the afternoon within doors, beginning to set my accounts in order from before this fire, I being behindhand with

them ever since ; and this day I got most of my tradesmen to bring in their bills and paid them. Nothing done in the House yet as to the finishing of the bill for money, which is a mighty sad thing, all lying at stake for it.

27th. Up, and there comes to see me my Lord Belassis, which was a great honour. He tells me great newes, yet but what I suspected, that Vernatty is fled, and so hath cheated him and twenty more, but most of all, I doubt, Povy. Thence to talk about publique business ; he tells me how the two Houses begin to be troublesome ; the Lords to have quarrels one with another. My Lord Duke of Buckingham having said to the Lord Chancellor (who is against the passing of the Bill for prohibiting the bringing over of Irish cattle), that whoever was against the Bill, was there led to it by an Irish interest, or an Irish understanding, which is as much as to say he is a foole, this bred heat from my Lord Chancellor, and something he [Buckingham] said did offend my Lord of Ossory¹ (my Lord Duke of Ormond's son), and they two had hard words, upon which the latter sends a challenge to the former ; of which the former complains to the House, and so the business is to be heard on Monday next.²

¹ On the 14th September, 1665, the Earl of Ossory had been created an English Peer, as Lord Butler of Morepark.

² The proceedings on the 27th are not clearly stated. According to Clarendon, this Bill was urgently pressed forward in the House of Lords by the Duke of Buckingham. The debate became most disorderly, especially on the part of its promoters. On the Duke making the remark above quoted, Lord Ossory, not trusting himself with a reply in the House, challenged

Then as to the Commons; some ugly knives, like poignards, to stab people with, about two or three hundred of them were brought in yesterday to the House, found in one of the house's rubbish that was burned, and said to be the house of a Catholique. This and several letters out of the country, saying how high the Catholiques are everywhere and bold in the owning their religion, have made the Commons mad, and they presently voted that the King be desired to put all Catholiques out of employment, and other high things; while the business of money hangs in the hedge. So that upon the whole, God knows we are in a sad condition like to be, there being the very beginnings of the late troubles. He gone, I at the office all the morning. At noon home to dinner, where Mrs. Pierce and her boy and Knipp, who sings as well, and is the best company in the world, dined with us, and infinite merry. The playhouses begin to play next week. Towards evening I took them out to the New Exchange, and there my wife bought things, and I did give each of them a pair of Jesimy¹ plain gloves, and another of white. Here Knipp and I walked up

Buckingham privately. This the Duke endeavoured to avoid, and was found in a place not fixed for the meeting. On the following morning, he informed the House of the affair. Clarendon regards the whole as a "gross shift" on the part of the Duke. Both parties were sent to the Tower. The Bill was subsequently passed. See Lord Arlington's account of the quarrel in Brown's "*Miscellanea Aulica*," p. 423, &c.

¹ *Jessemin* (*Jasminum*), the flowers of which are of a delicate sweet smell, and often used to perfume gloves. Edmund Howes, Stow's continuator, informs us that sweet or perfumed gloves were first brought into England by the Earl of Oxford on his return from Italy, in the 15th year of Queen Eliza-

and down to see handsome faces, and did see several. Then carried each of them home, and with great pleasure and content, home myself, and thereupon some serious discourse between my wife and I upon the business. I called to us my brother, and there broke to him our design to send him into the country with some part of our money. I pray God give a blessing to our resolution, for I do much fear we shall meet with speedy distractions for want of money.

28th (Lord's day). Up, and to church with my wife. Captain Guy to dine with me, and he and I much talk together. He cries out of the discipline of the fleete, and confesses really that the true English valour we talk of is almost spent and worn out; few of the commanders doing what they should do, and he much fears we shall therefore be beaten the next year. He assures me we were beaten home the last June fight, and that the whole fleete was ashamed to hear of our bonfires. He commends Smith, and cries out of Holmes for an idle, proud, conceited, though stout fellow. He tells me we are to owe the losse of so many ships on the sands, not to any fault of the pilots, but to the weather; but in this I have good authority to fear there was something more. He says the Dutch do fight in very good order, and we in none at all. He says that in the July fight, both the Prince and Holmes had their belly-fulls, and were fain to go

beth, during whose reign, and long afterwards, they were very fashionable. They are frequently mentioned by Shakespeare Autolycus, in the "Winter's Tale," has among his wares — "Gloves as sweet as damask roses."

aside; though, if the wind had continued we had utterly beaten them. He do confess the whole to be governed by a company of fools, and fears our ruine. The *Revenge* having her forecastle blown up with powder to the killing of some men in the River, and the *Diamond's* being overset in the careening at Sheernese, are further marks of the method all the King's work is now done in. The Foresight also and another came to disasters in the same place this week in the cleaning; which is strange.

29th. Up, and to the office to do business, and thither comes to me Sir Thomas Teddiman, and he and I walked a good while in the garden together, discoursing of the disorder and discipline of the fleet, wherein he told me how bad every thing is; but was very wary in speaking any thing to the dishonour of the Prince or Duke of Albemarle¹, but do magnify my Lord Sandwich much before them both, from ability to serve the King, and do heartily wish for him here. For he fears that we shall be undone the next year, but that he will, however, see an end of it. To Westminster; and I find the new Lord Mayor Bolton² a-swearing at the Exchequer, with some of the Aldermen and Livery; but Lord! to see how meanely they now look, who upon this day used to be all little lords, is a sad sight and worthy consideration. And every body did reflect with pity upon the poor City, to which they are now coming to choose and swear their Lord Mayor, compared with what it heretofore was.

¹ Sir William Bolton, Merchant Tailor.

Thence by coach (having in the Hall bought me a velvet riding cap, cost me 20s.) to my tailor's, and there bespoke a plain vest, and so to my goldsmith to bid him look out for some gold for me; and he tells me that ginnys, which I bought 2,000 of not long ago, and cost me but 18½*d.* change, will now cost me 22*d.*; and but very few to be had at any price. However, some more I will have, for they are very convenient, and of easy disposal. So home to dinner and to discourse with my brother upon his translation of my Lord Bacon's *Faber Fortunæ*, which I gave him to do and he has done it, but meanely; I am not pleased with it at all, having done it only literally, but without any life at all. About five o'clock I took my wife (who is mighty fine, and with a new fair pair of locks, which vex me, though like a foole I helped her the other night to buy them), and to Mrs. Pierce's, and there staying a little I away before to White Hall, and into the new playhouse there, the first time I ever was there, and the first play I have seen since before the great plague. By and by Mr. Pierce comes, bringing my wife and his, and Knipp. By and by the King and Queene, Duke and Duchesse, and all the great ladies of the Court; which, indeed, was a fine sight. But the play being "Love in a Tub,"¹ a silly play, and though done by the Duke's people, yet having neither Betterton nor his wife,² and the whole thing done ill, and being ill also, I had no manner of

¹ A comedy, by Sir George Etherridge.

² See note, February 1st, 1663-4.

pleasure in the play. Besides, the House, though very fine, yet bad for the voice, for hearing. The sight of the ladies, indeed, was exceeding noble ; and above all, my Lady Castlemaine. The play done by ten o'clock. I carried them all home, and then home myself, and well satisfied with the sight, but not the play, we with great content to bed.

30th. To the office, where late, very busy, and dispatching much business. Mr. Hater staying most of the afternoon abroad, he came to me, poor man, to make excuse, and it was that he had been looking out for a little house for his family. His wife being much frightened in the country with the discourses of troubles and disorders like to be, and therefore durst not be from him, and therefore he is forced to bring her to towne. This is now the general apprehension of all people ; particulars I do not know, but my owne fears are also great, and I do think it time to look out to save something, if a storm should come. At night home to supper, and singing with my wife, who has lately begun to learn, and I think will come to do something, though her eare is not good nor I, I confess, have patience enough to teach her, or hear her sing now and then a false note out of tune, and am to blame that I cannot bear with that in her which is fit I should do with her as a learner, and one that I desire much could sing, and so should encourage her. This I was troubled at, for I find that I do put her out of heart, and make her fearfull to sing before me. So after supper to bed.

31st. Out with Sir W. Batten toward White Hall. This day is a great day at the House, so little to do with the Duke of York, but soon parted. Coming out of the Court I met Coll. Atkins, who tells me the whole city rings to-day of Sir Jeremy Smith's killing of Holmes in a duell, at which I was not much displeased, for I fear every day more and more mischief from that man, if he lives; but the thing is not true, for in my coach I did by and by meet Sir Jer. Smith going to Court. So I by coach to my goldsmith there to see what gold I can get, which is but little, and not under 22*l*. So away home to dinner, and after dinner to my closett, where I spent the whole afternoon till late at evening of all my accounts publique and private, and to my great satisfaction I do find that I do bring my accounts to a very near balance, notwithstanding all the hurries and troubles I have been to by the late fire, that I have not been able to even my accounts since July last; and I bless God I do find that I am worth more than ever I yet was, which is 6,200*l*., for which the Holy Name of God be praised! and my other accounts of Tangier in a very plain and clear condition, that I am not liable to any trouble from them; but in fear great I am, and I perceive the whole city is of some distractions and disorders among us, which God of his goodness prevent! Late to supper with my wife and brother, and then to bed. And thus ends the month with an ill aspect, the business of the Navy standing wholly still. No credit, no goods sold us, nobody

will trust. All we have to do at the office is to hear complaints for want of money. The Duke of York himself for now three weeks seems to rest satisfied that we can do nothing without money, and that all must stand still till the King gets money, which the Parliament has been a great while about ; but are so dissatisfied with the King's management, and his giving himself up to pleasures, and not minding the calling to account any of his officers, and they observe so much the expense of the war, and yet that after we have made it the most we can, it do not amount to what they have given the King for the war, that they are backward of giving any more. However 1,800,000*l.* they have voted, but the way of gathering it has taken up more time than is fit to be now lost. The seamen grow very rude, and every thing out of order ; commanders having no power over their seamen, but the seamen do what they please. Few stay on board, but all coming running up hither to town, and nobody can with justice blame them, we owing them so much money ; and their families must starve if we do not give them money, or they procure it upon their tickets from some people that will trust them. A great folly is observed by all people in the King's giving leave to so many merchantmen to go abroad this winter, and some upon voyages where it is impossible they should be back again by the spring, and the rest will be doubtfull, but yet we let them go ; what the reason of State is nobody can tell, but all condemn it. The Prince and Duke of Albemarle

have got no great credit by this year's service. Our losse both of reputation and ships having been greater than is thought hath ever been suffered in all ages put together before ; being beat home, and flying home the first fight, and then losing so many ships then and since upon the sands, and some falling into the enemy's hands, and not one taken this yeare, but the Ruby, French prize, now at the end of the yeare, by the Frenchmen's mistake in running upon us. Great folly in both Houses of Parliament, several persons falling together by the eares, among others in the House of Lords, the Duke of Buckingham and my Lord Ossory. Such is our case that every body fears an invasion the next yeare ; and for my part, I do methinks foresee great unhappiness coming upon us, and do provide for it by laying by something against a rainy day, dividing what I have, and laying it in several places, but with all faithfulness to the King in all respects ; my grief only being that the King do not look after his business himself, and thereby will be undone both himself and his nation, it being not yet, I believe, too late if he would apply himself to it, to save all, and conquer the Dutch ; but while he and the Duke of York mind their pleasure, as they do and nothing else, we must be beaten. So late with my mind in good condition of quiet after the settling all my accounts, and to bed.

November 1st. Up, and was presented by Burton, one of our smith's wives, with a very noble cake, which I presently resolved to have my wife go with

to-day, and some wine, and house-warm my Betty Michell, which she readily resolved to do. So I to the office and sat all the morning, where little to do but answer people about want of money; so that there is little service done the King by us, and great disquiet to ourselves; I am sure there is to me very much, for I do not enjoy myself as I would and should do in my employment if my pains could do the King better service, and with the peace we used to do it. From dinner my wife and my brother, and W. Hewer and Barker away to Betty Michell's, to Shadwell, and I to my office till almost night and then, my wife being come back, I took her and set her at her brothers, who is very sicke, and I to White Hall, and there all alone a pretty while with Sir W. Coventry at his chamber. I find him very melancholy under the same considerations of the King's service that I am. He confesses with me he expects all will be undone, and all ruined; he complains and sees perfectly what I with grief do, and said it first himself to me that all discipline is lost in the fleete, no order nor no command, and concurs with me that it is necessary we do again and again represent all things more and more plainly to the Duke of York, as a guard to ourselves hereafter when things shall come to be worse. He says the House goes on slowly in finding of money, and that the discontented party do say they have not done with us, for they will have a further bout with us as to our accounts, and they are exceedingly well instructed where to hit us. I left

him with a thousand sad reflections upon the times, and the state of the King's matters, and so away, and took up my wife and home, where a little at the office, and then to supper, and talk with my wife (with whom I have much comfort) and my brother, and so to bed.

November 2nd. With Sir W. Batten to Woolwich, where first we went on board the Ruby, French prize, the only ship of war we have taken from any of our enemies this year. It seems a very good ship, but with galleries quite round the sterne to walk in as a balcone, which will be taken down. She had also about forty good brass guns, but will make little amends to our loss in the Prince. Thence to the Ropeyarde and the other yards to do several businesses. I did also buy some apples and pork; by the same token the butcher commended it for cloath and colour. And for his beef, says he, "Look how fat it is; the lean appears only here and there a speck, like beauty-spots." Having done at Woolwich, we to Deptford, and there did also a little more business, and so home, I reading all the way to make an end of the Bondman (which the oftener I read the more I like), and begun "The Duchesse of Malfi,"¹ which seems a good play. After dinner to Westminster. I up into the House, and among other things walked a good while with the Serjeant Trumpet, who tells me, as I wished, that the King's Italian here is about setting three parts for trumpets, and shall teach some to sound

¹ A tragedy, by John Webster.

them, and believes they will be admirable musique. I also walked with Sir Stephen Fox an houre, and good discourse of publique business with him, who seems very much satisfied with my discourse, and desired more of my acquaintance. Then comes out the King and Duke of York from the Council, and so I spoke awhile to Sir W. Coventry about some office business, and so called my wife, and so home.

3rd. This morning comes Mr. Lovett, and brings me my print of the Passion, varnished by him, and the frame black, which indeed is very fine, though not so fine as I expected; however, pleases me exceedingly. This, and the sheets of paper he prepared for me, come to 3*l*., which I did give him, and though it be more than is fit to lay out on pleasure, yet, it being ingenious, I did not think much of it. He gone, I to the office, and there again all the afternoon till late at night.

4th (Lord's day). Comes my taylor's man in the morning, and brings my vest home, and coate to wear with it, and belt, and silver-hilted sword. So I rose and dressed myself, and I like myself mightily in it, and so do my wife. Then, being dressed, to church; and after church pulled my Lady Pen and Mrs. Markham into my house to dinner, and Sir J. Minnes he got Mrs. Pegg along with him. I had a good dinner for them, and very merry; and after dinner to the waterside, and so, it being very cold, to White Hall, and was mighty fearfull of an ague, my vest being new and thin, and the coat cut not to meet before upon my breast. Here I waited in the gallery

till the Council was up, and among others did speak with Mr. Cooling, my Lord Chamberlain's secretary, who tells me my Lord Generall is become mighty low in all people's opinion, and that he hath received several slurs from the King and Duke of York. The people at Court do see the difference between his and the Prince's management, and my Lord Sandwich's. That this business which he is put upon of crying out against the Catholiques and turning them out of all employment, will undo him, when he comes to turn the officers out of the Army, and this is a thing of his own seeking. That he is grown a drunken sot, and drinks with nobody but Troutbecke, whom nobody else will keep company with. Of whom he told me this story: That once the Duke of Albemarle in his drink taking notice as of a wonder that Nan Hide should ever come to be Duchesse of York, "Nay," says Troutbecke, "ne'er wonder at that; for if you will give me another bottle of wine, I will tell you as great, if not greater, a miracle." And what was that, but that our dirty Besse (meaning his Duchesse) should come to be Duchesse of Albemarle? To Sir G. Carteret's lodgings, where he shows me a long letter, all in cipher, from my Lord Sandwich to him. The contents he hath not yet found out, but he tells me that my Lord is not sent for home, as several people have enquired after of me. So home, and there began to read "Potter's Discourse upon 666,"¹ which pleases me mightily.

¹ "An Interpretation of the Number 666." Oxford, 1642, 4to. The work

5th. (A holiday.) Lay long, and then up, and to the office, where vexed to meet with people come from the fleete at the Nore, where so many ships are laid up and few going abroad, and yet Sir Thos. Allen has sent up some Lieutenants with warrants to presse men for a few ships to go out this winter, while every day thousands appear here, to our great trouble and affright, before our office and the ticket office, and no Captain able to command one man abroad. Thence by coach to my Lady Peterborough,¹ who had sent to speak with me. She makes mighty moan of the badness of the times, and her family as to money. My Lord's passionateness for want thereof, and his want of coming in of rents, and no wages from the Duke of York. No money to be had there for wages nor disbursements, and therefore prays my assistance about his pension. I was moved with her story, which she largely and handsomely told me, and promised I would try what I could in a few days, and so took leave, being willing to keep her Lord fair with me, both for his respect to my Lord Sandwich and for my owne sake hereafter, when I come to pass my accounts. Thence to my Lord Crew's, and there dined, and mightily made of. Here my Lord and Sir Thomas Crew, Mr. John, and Dr. Crew,² and two strangers.

was afterwards translated into French, Dutch, and Latin. It was written by Francis Potter, an English divine, born in Wiltshire, 1594, who died about 1678, at Kilmington, in Somersetshire, of which he was rector — Wood's *Athenæ*. See 18th February, 1665-6, *ante*.

¹ See August 10th, 1663.

² Nathaniel, afterwards Bishop of Durham and Baron Crew.

The best family in the world for goodness and sobriety. Here beyond my expectation I met my Lord Hinchinbroke, who is come to towne two days since from Hinchinbroke, and brought his sister and brother Carteret with him, who are at Sir G. Carteret's. After dinner I and Sir Thomas Crew went aside to discourse of public matters, and do find by him that all the country gentlemen are publickly jealous of the courtiers in the Parliament, and that they do doubt every thing that they propose ; and that the true reason why the country gentlemen are for a land-tax and against a general excise, is, because they are fearful that if the latter be granted they shall never get it down again ; whereas the land-tax will be but for so much, and when the war ceases, there will be no ground got by the Court to keep it up. He says the House would be very glad to get something against Sir G. Carteret, and will not let their inquiries die till they have got something. He do, from what he hath heard at the Committee for examining the burning of the City, conclude it as a thing certain that it was done by plot ; it being proved by many witnesses that endeavours were made in several places to encrease the fire, and that both in City and country it was bragged by several Papists that upon such a day or in such a time we should find the hottest weather that ever was in England, and words of plainer sense. But my Lord Crew was discoursing at table how the Judges have determined in the case whether the landlords or the tenants (who are, in their leases, all of

them generally tied to maintain and uphold their houses) shall bear the losse of the fire ; and they say that tenants should against all casualties of fire beginning either in their owne or in their neighbour's ; but, where it is done by an enemy, they are not to do it. And this was by an enemy, there having been one convicted and hanged upon this very score. This is an excellent salvo for the tenants, and for which I am glad, because of my father's house. After dinner and this discourse I took coach, and at the same time find my Lord Hinchingbroke and Mr. John Crew and the Doctor going out to see the ruins of the City ; so I took the Doctor into my hackney coach (and he is a very fine sober gentleman), and so through the City. But, Lord ! what pretty and sober observations he made of the City and its desolation ; till anon we came to my house, and there I took them upon Tower Hill to show them what houses were pulled down there since the fire ; and then to my house, where I treated them with good wine of several sorts, and they took it mighty respectfully, and a fine company of gentlemen they are ; but above all I was glad to see my Lord Hinchingbroke drink no wine at all. Here I got them to appoint Wednesday come se'n-night to dine here at my house, and so we broke up and all took coach again, and I carried the Doctor to Chancery Lane, and thence I to White Hall, where I staid walking up and down till night, and then got almost into the play-house, having much mind to go and see the play at Court this night ; but fearing how

I should get home, because of the bonfires and the lateness of the night to get a coach, I did not stay ; but having this evening seen my Lady Jemimah, who is come to towne, and looks very well and fat, and heard how Mr. John Pickering is to be married this week, and to a fortune with 5,000*l.*, and seen a rich necklace of pearle and two pendants of dyamonds, which Sir G. Carteret hath presented her with since her coming to towne, I home by coach, but met not one bonfire through the whole town in going round by the wall, which is strange, and speaks the melancholy disposition of the City at present, while never more was said of, and feared of, and done against the Papists than just at this time. Home, and there find my wife and her people at cards, and I to my chamber, and there late, and so to supper and to bed.

6th. After dinner, down alone by water to Deptford, reading "*Duchesse of Malfy*," the play, which is pretty good, and there did some business, and so up again, and all the evening at the office. At night home, and there find Mr. Batelier, who supped with us, and good company he is.

7th. Up and with Sir W. Batten to White Hall, where we attended as usual the Duke of York, and there was by the folly of Sir W. Batten prevented in obtaining a bargain for Captain Cocke, which would, I think, at this time, during our great want of hempe, have been both profitable to the King and of good convenience to me ; but I matter it not, it being done only by the folly, not any design, of Sir W. Batten's.

Thence to Westminster Hall, and, it being fast day, there was no shops open. Took coach and called at Faythorne's, to buy some prints for my wife to draw by this winter, and here did see my Lady Castlemaine's picture, done by him from Lilly's, in red chalke and other colours, by which he hath cut it in copper to be printed. The picture in chalke is the finest thing I ever saw in my life, I think; and I did desire to buy it; but he says he must keep it awhile to correct his copper-plate¹ by, and when that is done he will sell it me. Thence home to dinner, and then to Mrs. Turner's, at her request to speake and advise about Sir Thomas Harvey's coming to lodge there, which I think must be submitted to, and better now than hereafter, when he gets more ground, for I perceive he intends to stay by it, and begins to crow mightily upon his late being at the payment of tickets; but a coxcombe he is and will never be better in the business of the Navy. By the Duke of York his discourse to-day in his chamber, they have it at Court, as well as we here, that a fatal day is to be expected shortly, of some great mischief; whether by the Papists, or what, they are not certain. But the day is disputed; some say next Friday, others a day sooner, others later, and I hope all will prove a foolery. But it is observable how every body's fears are busy at this time.

8th. Up, and before I went to the office I spoke with Mr. Martin for his advice about my proceeding in the business of the private man-of-war, he having

¹ See 1st December, 1666.

heretofore served in one of them, and now I have it in my thoughts to send him purser in ours. At noon home to dinner and then to the office awhile, and so home for my sword, and there find Mercer come to see her mistresse. I was glad to see her there, and my wife mighty kind also, and for my part, much vexed that the jade is not with us still. I to Westminster Hall, and there met Mr. Grey, who tells me the House is sitting still (and now it was six o'clock), and likely to sit till midnight; and have proceeded fair to give the King his supply presently; and herein have done more to-day than was hoped for. Sir W. Coventry did this night tell me how the business is done about Sir J. Minnes; that he is to be a Commissioner, and my Lord Brouncker and Sir W. Pen are to be Controller jointly, which I am very glad of, and better than if they were either of them alone; and do hope truly that the King's business will be better done thereby, and infinitely better than now it is. Mr. Grey did assure me this night, that he was told this day, by one of the greater Ministers of State in England, and one of the King's Cabinet, that we had little left to agree on between the Dutch and us towards a peace, but only the place of treaty; which do astonish me to hear, but I am glad of it, for I fear the consequence of the war. But he says that the King, having all the money he is like to have, we shall be sure of a peace in a little time.

9th. Up and to the office, where did a good deale of business, and then at noon to the Exchange and to

my little goldsmith's, whose wife¹ is very pretty and modest, that ever I saw any. Upon the Change, where I seldom have of late been, I found all people mightily at a losse what to expect, but confusion and fears in every man's head and heart. Whether war or peace, all fear the event will be bad. Home, and after dinner I to my closett all the afternoon, till the porter brought my vest back from the tailor's and then to dress myself very fine and away by coach to Mrs. Pierce's, by appointment, where we find good company: a fair lady, my Lady Prettyman,² Mrs. Corbet,³ Knipp; and for men, Captain Downing, Mr. Lloyd, Sir W. Coventry's clerk, and one Mr. Tripp, who dances well. After our first bout of dancing, Knipp and I to sing, and Mercer and Captain Downing (who loves and understands musique) would by all means have my song of "Beauty, retire:" which Knipp had spread abroad, and he extols it above any thing he ever heard, and, without flattery, I know it is good in its kind. This being done and going to dance again, and then comes news that White Hall was on fire; and presently more particulars, that the Horse-guard was on fire;⁴ and so we run up to the garret, and find it so; a horrid great fire; and by

¹ Mrs. Stokes.

² Margaret, daughter and heir of Sir Matthew Mennes, K.B., and wife of Sir John Prettyman, Bart., M.P. for Leicester.

³ There was an actress of this name. She played Cleoly, at the King's House, in Edward Howard's "Man of Newmarket," 1678.

⁴ "Nov. 9th. Between seven and eight at night, there happened a fire in the Horse Guard House, in the Tilt Yard, over against Whitehall, which at

and by we saw and heard part of it blown up with powder. The ladies begun presently to be afeard: one fell into fits. The whole town in an alarm. Drums beat and trumpets, and the Horse-guards every where spread, running up and down in the street. And I begun to have mighty apprehensions how things might be, for we are in expectation, from common fame, this night, or to-morrow, to have a massacre, by the having so many fires one after another, as that in the City, and at same time begun in Westminster, by the Palace, but put out; and since in Southwarke, to the burning down some houses; and now this do make all people conclude there is something extraordinary in it; but nobody knows what. By and by comes news that the fire has slackened; so then we were a little cheered up again, and to supper, and pretty merry. But, above all, there comes in the dumb boy that I knew in Oliver's time, who is mightily acquainted here, and with Downing; and he made strange signs of the fire, and how the King was abroad, and many things they understood, but I could not, which I wondered at, and discoursing with Downing about it, "Why," says he, "it is only a little use, and you will understand him, and make him understand you with as much ease as may be." So I prayed

first arising, it is supposed, from some snuff of a candle falling amongst the straw, broke out with so sudden a flame, that at once it seized the north-west part of that building: but being so close under His Majesty's own eye, it was, by the timely help His Majesty and His Royal Highness caused to be applied, immediately stopped, and by ten o'clock wholly mastered, with the loss only of that part of the building it had at first seized." — *The London Gazette*, No. 103.

him to tell him that I was afeard that my coach would be gone, and that he should go down and steal one of the seats out of the coach and keep it, and that would make the coachman to stay. He did this, so that the dumb boy did go down, and, like a cunning rogue, went into the coach, pretending to sleep; and, by and by, fell to his work, but finds the seats nailed to the coach. So he could not do it; however, stayed there, and stayed the coach till the coachman's patience was quite spent, and beat the dumb boy by force, and so went away. So the dumb boy came up and told him all the story, which they below did see all that passed, and knew it to be true. After supper, another dance or two, and then newes that the fire is as great as ever, which puts us all to our wit's-end; and I mightily anxious to go home, but the coach being gone, and it being about ten at night, and rainy dirty weather, I knew not what to do; but to walk out with Mr. Batelier, myself resolving to go home on foot, and leave the women there. And so did; but at the Savoy got a coach, and came back and took up the women; and so, having, by people come from the fire, understood that the fire was overcome, and all well, we merrily parted, and home. Stopped by several guards and constables quite through the town, round the wall, as we went, all being in arms. Being come home, we to cards, till two in the morning, and drinking lamb's-wool.¹ So to bed.

¹ Lamb's-wool is a vulgar beverage made of ale, mixed with sugar, nutmeg, and the pulp of roasted apples.

10th. The Parliament did fall foul of our accounts again yesterday; and we must arme to have them examined, which I am sorry for: it will bring great trouble to me, and shame upon the office. With my Lord Brouncker and Sir Thomas Harvy, to Cocke's house, and there Mrs. Williams and other company, and an excellent dinner. Mr. Temple's wife, after dinner, fell to play on the harpsichon, till she so tired everybody, that I left the house without taking leave, and no creature left standing by her to hear her. Read an hour, to make an end of "Potter's Discourse of 666," which I like all along, but his close is most excellent; and, whether it be right or wrong, is mighty ingenious. This is the fatal day that every body hath discoursed for a long time to be the day that the Papists, or I know not who, have designed to commit a massacre upon;¹ but, however, I trust in God we shall rise to-morrow morning as well as ever. I hear that my Lady Denham is exceeding sick, even to death, and that she says, and every body else discourses, that she is poisoned; and Creed tells me, that it is said that there hath been a design to poison the King. What the meaning of all these sad signs is, the Lord only knows; but every day things look worse and worse. God fit us for the worst!

11th (Lord's day). To church, myself and wife, where the old dunce Meriton, brother to the known Meriton, of St. Martin's, Westminster, did make a

¹ See 13th December, 1666, *post.*

very good sermon, beyond my expectation. Home to dinner, and we carried in Pegg Pen, and there also came to us little Michell and his wife, and dined very pleasantly. Anon to church, and after church I to my chamber, and there did finish the putting time to my song of "It is decreed," and do please myself at last and think it will be thought a good song. To my uncle Wight's, where my aunt is grown so ugly and their entertainment so bad that I am in pain to be there. Wooly's wife, a silly woman, and not very handsome, but no spirit in her at all; and their discourse mean, and the fear of the troubles of the times hath made them not to bring their plate to town, since it was carried out upon the business of the fire, so that they drink in earth and a wooden can, which I do not like.

12th. Mr. Carcasse brought me near 500 tickets to sign, which I did, and by discourse find him a cunning, confident, shrewd man, but one that I do doubt by his discourse of the ill life he has got with my Lord Marquess of Dorchester (with whom he lived), hath had cunning practices in his time, and would not now spare to use the same to his profit. By and by comes Creed to me, and he and I walked in the garden a little, talking of the present ill condition of things, which is the common subject of all men's discourse and fears now-a-days, and particularly of my Lady Denham, whom everybody says is poisoned, and she hath said it to the Duke of York; but is upon the mending hand, though the town says she is dead this

morning. Going to Sir R. Viner's, I did get such a splash and spots of dirt upon my new vest, that I was out of countenance to be seen in the street. This day I received 450 pieces of gold more of Mr. Stokes, but cost me $22\frac{1}{2}d.$ change; but I am well contented with it, I having now nearly 2800*l.* in gold, and will not rest till I get full 3000*l.* Home to dinner, though Sir R. Viner would have staid us to dine with him, he being sheriffe; but, poor man, was so out of countenance that he had no wine ready to drink to us, his butler being out of the way, though we know him to be a very liberal man. After dinner I took my wife out, intending to have gone and have seen my Lady Jemimah, at White Hall, but so great a stop there was at the New Exchange, that we could not pass in half an houre, and therefore 'light and then home. My wife and all the mayds [being] abed but Jane, whom I put confidence in — she and I, and my brother, and Tom, and W. Hewer, did bring all the remainder of my money, and my plate-chest, out of the cellar, and placed the money in my study, with the rest, and the plate in my dressing-room; but indeed I am in great pain to think how to dispose of my money, it being wholly unsafe to keep it all in coin in one place. Creed and I did stop, the Duke of York being just going away from seeing of it, at Paul's, and in the Convocation House Yard did there see the body of Robert Braybrooke, Bishop of London, that died 1404. He fell down in his tomb out of the great church into St. Fayth's this late fire, and is here seen

his skeleton with the flesh on ; but all tough and dry like a spongy dry leather, or touchwood all upon his bones. His head turned aside. A great man in his time, and Lord Chancellor ; and [his skeleton] now exposed to be handled and derided by some, though admired for its duration by others. Many flocking to see it.

13th. To Bishopsgate Street, and there bought some drinking-glasses, a case of knives, and other things, in expectation of my Lord Hinchinbroke's coming to dine with me. So home, and do here receive notice from my Lord Hinchinbroke that he is not well, and so not in condition to come, which I am not in much trouble for, because of the disorder my house is in, by the bricklayers coming to mend the chimney in my dining-room for smoking, which they were upon almost till midnight, and have now made it very pretty, and do carry smoke exceeding well. This evening came all the Houblons to me, to invite me to sup with them to-morrow night. I did take them home, and there we sat and talked a good while, and a glass of wine, and then parted till to-morrow night. So at night, well satisfied in the alteration of my chimney, I to bed.

14th. To Westminster, where I bought several things, as a hone, ribbon, gloves, books, and then took coach and to Knipp's lodging, whom I find not ready to go home with me ; and there staid reading of Waller's verses, while she finished dressing, her husband being by. Her lodging very mean, and the condition

she lives in ; yet makes a show without doors, God bless us ! I carried him along with us into the City, and set him down in Bishopsgate Street, and then home with her. She tells me how Smith,¹ of the Duke's house, hath killed a man upon a quarrel in play ; which makes every body sorry, he being a good actor, and, they say, a good man, however this happens. The ladies of the Court do much bemoan him, she says. Here she and we alone at dinner to some good victuals, that we could not put off, that was intended for the great dinner of my Lord Hinchinbroke's, if he had come. After dinner I to teach her my new recitative of "It is decreed," of which she learnt a good part, and I do well like it and believe shall be well pleased when she has it all, and that it will be found an agreeable thing. Then carried her home, and my wife and I intended to have seen my Lady Jemimah at White Hall, but the Exchange Streete was so full of coaches, every body, as they say, going thither to make themselves fine against to-morrow night, we could not do any thing, only my wife to see her brother, and I to speak one word with Sir G. Carteret about office business, and talk of the general complexion of matters, which he looks upon, as I do, with horror, and gives us all as an undone people. That there is no such thing as a peace in hand, nor possibility of any without our begging it, they being as high, or higher, in their terms than ever, and tells me that, just now,

¹ William Smith, originally a Barrister-at-law of the Society of Gray's Inn. Ob. 1696.

my Lord Hollis had been with him, and wept to think in what a condition we are fallen. He shewed me my Lord Sandwich's letter to him, complaining of the lack of money, which Sir G. Carteret is at a loss how in the world to get the King to supply him with, and wishes him, for that reason, here ; for that he fears he will be brought to disgrace there, for want of supplies. He says the House is yet in a bad humour ; and desiring to know whence it is that the King stirs not, he says he minds it not, nor will be brought to it, and that his servants of the House do, instead of making the Parliament better, rather play the rogue one with another, and will put all in fire. So that, upon the whole, we are in a wretched condition, and I went from him in full apprehensions of it. So to the Pope's Head, where all the Houblons were, and Dr. Croone,¹ and by and by to an exceeding pretty supper, excellent discourse of all sorts, and indeed they are a set of the finest gentlemen that ever I met withal in my life. Here Dr. Croone told me, that at the meeting at Gresham College to-night, which, it seems, they now have every Wednesday again, there was a pretty experiment of the blood of one dog let out, till he died, into the body of another on one side, while all his own run out on the other side.² The first died

¹ William Croune, of Emanuel College, Cambridge, chosen Rhetoric Professor at Gresham College, 1659, F.R.S. and M.D. Ob. 1684, and interred at St. Mildred's in the Poultry.

² A few years since, there was an attempt to revive this experiment: see also 21st and 30th November, 1667. All the important facts relating to the

upon the place, and the other very well, and likely to do well. This did give occasion to many pretty wishes, as of the blood of a Quaker to be let into an Archbishop, and such like ; but, as Dr. Croone says, may, if it takes, be of mighty use to man's health, for the amending of bad blood by borrowing from a better body. After supper, James Houblon and another brother took me aside and to talk of some businesses of their owne, where I am to serve them, and then to talk of publique matters, and I do find that they and all merchants else do give over trade and the nation for lost, nothing being done with care or foresight, no convoys granted, nor any thing done to satisfaction ; but do think that the Dutch and French will master us the next yeare, do what we can : and so do I, unless necessity makes the King to mind his business, which might yet save all.

15th. To Mrs. Pierce's, where I find her as fine as possible, and Mr. Pierce going to the ball at night at Court, it being the Queen's birth-day. I also to the ball, and with much ado got up to the loft, where with much trouble I could see very well. Anon the house grew full, and the candles light, and the King and Queen and all the ladies sat : and it was, indeed, a glorious sight to see Mrs. Stewart in black and white lace, and her head and shoulders dressed with diamonds, and the like many great ladies more, only the Queen none ; and the King in his rich vest of some

subject may be read in an article on "Transfusion," by Dr. Kay, in the *Cyclopedia of Practical Medicine*," and in the works quoted by him.

rich silke and silver trimming, as the Duke of York and all the dancers were, some of cloth of silver, and others of other sorts, exceeding rich. Presently after the King was come in, he took the Queen, and about fourteen more couple there was, and begun the Bransles. As many of the men as I can remember presently, were, the King, Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Duke of Monmouth, Duke of Buckingham, Lord Douglas, Mr. [George] Hamilton, Colonell Russell, Mr. Griffith, Lord Ossory, Lord Rochester; and of the ladies, the Queen, Duchess of York, Mrs. Stewart, Duchess of Monmouth, Lady Essex Howard,¹ Mrs. Temple,² Swedes Embassadress,³ Lady Arlington,⁴ Lord George Berkeley's daughter,⁵ and many others I remember not; but all most excellently dressed in rich petticoats and gowns, and dyamonds, and pearls. After the Bransles, then to a Corant, and

¹ Only daughter of James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk, by his first wife, Susannah, daughter of Henry Rich, Earl of Holland; afterwards married, 4th March, 1666-7, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, to Edward Griffin, Lord Griffin of Braybrooke. There is a very fine portrait of her at Audley End, by Lely.

² Anne, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Temple, of Frankton, in Warwickshire, by Rebecca, daughter of Sir Nicholas Carew, of Beddington, in Surrey, became the second wife of Sir Charles Lyttelton, who had been Governor of Jamaica, and lived to be eighty-seven. His lady survived him four years, dying in 1718, and had issue by him eight daughters and five sons. From this alliance the Lords Lyttelton descend.

³ "The Lord George Flemming, the Lord Peter Julius Coyet, ambassadors-extraordinary from the crown of Sweden, made their public entry through the City of London, on the 27th June, 1666." — *POINTER'S History*, vol. i. p. 213. The lady was the wife of one of these.

⁴ See 12th July, *ante*.

⁵ George Lord Berkeley had six daughters. The one mentioned here was probably the eldest, Lady Elizabeth.

now and then a French dance ; but that so rare that the Corants grew tiresome, that I wished it done. Only Mrs. Stewart danced mighty finely, and many French dances, specially one the King called the New Dance, which was very pretty ; but upon the whole matter, the business of the dancing of itself was not extraordinary pleasing. But the clothes and sight of the persons were indeed very pleasing, and worth my coming, being never likely to see more gallantry while I live, if I should come twenty times. About twelve at night it broke up. So away home with my wife, between displeased with the dull dancing, and satisfied with the clothes and persons. My Lady Castlemaine, without whom all is nothing, being there, very rich, though not dancing.

16th. This noon I met with Mr. Hooke, and he tells me the dog which was filled with another dog's blood, at the College the other day, is very well, and like to be so as ever, and doubts not its being found of great use to men ; and so do Dr. Whistler, who dined with us at the *taverne*.

17th. In the afternoon shut myself up in my chamber, and there till twelve at night finishing my great letter to the Duke of York, which do lay the ill condition of the Navy so open to him, that it is impossible if the King and he minds any thing of their business, but it will operate upon them to set all matters right, and get money to carry on the war, before it be too late, or else lay out for a peace upon any termes. It was a great convenience to-night that what I had

writ foule in short hand, I could read it to W. Hewer, and he take it fair in short hand, so as I can read it to-morrow to Sir W. Coventry, and then come home, and Hewer read it to me while I take it in long-hand to present, which saves me much time.

18th (Lord's day). On foot to White Hall, where by appointment I met Lord Brouncker at Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and there I read over my great letter, and they approved it: so I think it is as good a letter in the manner, and believe it is the worst in the matter of it, as ever come from any office to a prince. To Sir W. Batten. He was in a huffe, which I made light of, but he signed the letter, though he would not go, and liked the letter well. Sir W. Pen, it seems, he would not stay for it: so, making slight of Sir W. Pen's putting so much weight upon his hand, I to White Hall, and there met Lord Brouncker, and he signed it, and so I delivered it to Mr. Chiffinch, and he to Sir W. Coventry, in the cabinet, the King and councill being sitting, where I leave it to its fortune, and I by water home again to even my Journall; and then comes Captain Cocke to me, and he and I a great deal of melancholy discourse of the times, giving all over for gone, though now the Parliament will soon finish the Bill for money. But we fear, if we had it, as matters are now managed, we shall never make the best of it, but consume it all to no purpose or a bad one.

19th. To Barkeshire-house,¹ where my Lord Chan-

¹ Belonging to the Earl of Berkshire; afterwards purchased by Charles

cellor hath been ever since the fire. To the Bull-head tavern, where I have not been since Mr. Chetwind and the time of our club, and here had six bottles of claret filled, and I sent them to Mrs. Martin, whom I had promised some of my owne, and, having none of my owne, sent her this. Took coach to White Hall, and there visited my Lady Jemimah, at Sir G. Carteret's lodgings. Here was Sir Thomas Crew, who told me how hot words grew again to-day in the House of Lords between my Lord Ossory and Ashly, the former saying that something said by the other was said like one of Oliver's Council. Ashly said he must give him reparation, or he would take it his owne way. The House therefore did bring my Lord Ossory to confess his fault, and ask pardon for it, as he did also to my Lord Buckingham, for saying that something was not truth that my Lord Buckingham had said. This will render my Lord Ossory very little in a little time.

20th. Called up by Mr. Shepley, who is going into the country to-day to Hinchinbroke, and sent my service to my Lady, and in general for newes: that the world do think very well of my Lord, and do wish he were here again, but that the publique matters of the State as to the war are in the worst condition that is possible. Then to church, it being thanksgiving-day for the cessation of the plague; but, Lord! how

II., and presented to the Duchess of Cleveland, whose name is preserved in "Cleveland Row." It was then of great extent, and stood on or near the site of Bridgewater House.

the towne do say that it is hastened before the plague is quite over, there dying some people still, but only to get ground for plays to be publickly acted, which the Bishops would not suffer till the plague was over ; and one would thinke so, by the suddenness of the notice given of the day, which was last Sunday, and the little ceremony. The sermon being dull of Mr. Minnes, and people with great indifferency, come to hear him. After church home, where I met Mr. Gregory, who I did then agree with to come to teach my wife to play on the Viall, and he being an able and sober man, I am mightily glad of it. After dinner by coach to Barkeshire-house, and there did get a very great meeting ; the Duke of York being there, and much business done, though not in proportion to the greatness of the business, and my Lord Chancellor sleeping and snoring the greater part of the time. Among other things I declared the state of our credit as to tallys to raise money by, and there was an order for payment of 5,000*l.* to Mr. Gauden, out of which I hope to get something against Christmas. Here we sat late, and I did hear that there are some troubles like to be in Scotland, there being a discontented party already risen, that have seized on the Governor of Dumfreeze and imprisoned him, but the story is yet very uncertain, and therefore I set no great weight on it. So home and with great pleasure to spend the evening upon my Lyra Viall, and then to supper and to bed with mighty peace of mind and a hearty desire that I had but what I have quietly in the country, but,

I fear, I do at this day see the best that either I or the rest of our nation will ever see.

21st. I to wait on Sir Philip Howard, whom I find dressing himself in his night-gown and turban like a Turke, but one of the finest persons that ever I saw in my life. He had several gentlemen of his owne waiting on him, and one playing finely on the gittar : he discourses as well as ever I heard man, in few words and handsome. He expressed all kindness to Balty, when I told him how sick he is : he says that, before he comes to be mustered again, he must bring a certificate of his swearing the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and having taken the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. This, I perceive, is imposed on all.

22nd. My Lord Brouncker did show me Hollar's new print of the City,¹ with a pretty representation of that part which is burnt, very fine indeed ; and tells me that he was yesterday sworn the King's servant, and that the King hath commanded him to go on with his great map of the City,² which he was upon

¹ "A Map or Ground Plott of the City of London, with the Suburbs thereof, so far as the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction doth extend; by which is exactly demonstrated the present condition since the last sad accident by fire; the blanke space signifying the burnt part, and where the houses be, those places yet standing. — W. Hollar, f. 1666. Cum Privilegio Regis."

² Hollar engraved, in 1675, "A new Map of the Citties of London, Westminster, and the Borough of Southwarke, with their Suburbs; shewing the streets, lanes, alleys, courts, &c., with other remarks, as they are now truly and carefully delineated; and the prospect of London, as it was flourishing before the destruction by fire." Sold by Robert Green and Robert Morden. A large sheet. In the Pepysian Library is a very long prospect of London

before the City was burned, like Gombout of Paris,¹ which I am glad of. At noon home to dinner, where my wife and I fell out, I being displeased with her cutting away a lace handkercher sewed about the neck to her breasts almost, out of a belief, but without reason, that it is the fashion. Here we did give one another the lie too much, but were presently friends, and then I to my office, where very late and did much business, and then home, and there find Mr. Batelier, and did sup and play at cards awhile. But he tells me the newes how the King of France hath, in defiance to the King of England, caused all his footmen to be put into vests,² and that the noblemen of France will do the like; which, if true, is the greatest indignity ever done by one Prince to another, and would incite a stone to be revenged; and I hope our King will, if it be so, as he tells me it is:³ being told by one that came over from Paris with my Lady Fanshaw, who is come over with the dead body of her husband,⁴

and Westminster, taken at several stations to the southward thereof, by William Morgan — GOUGH's *British Topography*, vol. i. pp. 753-5.

¹ Gombout's Plan of Paris, on a very large scale, was engraved in 1642. It is of great rarity. A copy, which was in the possession of the Baron Walckenaer, was purchased for a royal personage, at his sale at Paris, in April, 1853, Lot 3028, for more than 1,000 francs.

² It is possible that some tradition of this proceeding of Louis XIV. may have given to Steele the hint for his story of the rival ladies, Brunetta and Phillis, in the "Spectator," No. 80; a subject which has been well treated by Stothard: as also in a clever picture by Mr. A. Solomon, exhibited at the Royal Academy in the year 1853.

³ Perhaps this influenced Charles II. in abandoning his new costume, which, at all events, was shortly discontinued, notwithstanding his having betted that it should never be changed.

⁴ Sir Richard Fanshaw.

and that saw it before he came away. This make me mighty merry, it being an ingenious kind of affront; but yet it makes me angry, to see that the King of England is become so little as to have the affront offered him. Batelier did bring us some oysters to-night, and some bottles of new French wine of this year, mighty good, but I drank but little.

23rd. Attended the Duke of York, where, among other things, we had a complaint of Sir William Jennings's¹ against his lieutenant, Le Neve, one that had been long the Duke's page, and for whom the Duke of York hath great kindness. It was a drunken quarrel, where one was as blameable as the other. It was referred to further examination, but the Duke of York declared, that as he would not favour disobedience, so neither drunkenness. I spoke with Sir G. Downing about our prisoners in Holland, and their being released; which he is concerned in, and most of them are. Then, discoursing of matters of the House of Parliament, he tells me that it is not the fault of the House, but the King's own party, that have hindered the passing of the Bill for money, by their popping in of new projects for raising it: which is a strange thing; and mighty confident he is, that what money is raised, will be raised and put into the same form that the last was, to come into the Exchequer; and, for aught I see, I must confess I think it is the best way.

¹ He was a distinguished sea-officer, and brother of Sir Robert Jennings, of Ripon. He attended James II. after his abdication, and served as a Captain in the French Navy.

24th. With Sir J. Minnes by coach to Stepney to the Trinity House, where it is kept again now since the burning of their other house in London. And here a great many met at Sir Thomas Allen's feast, of his being made an Elder Brother ; but he is sick, and so could not be there. Here was much good company, and very merry ; but the discourse of Scotland, it seems, is confirmed, and that they are 4000 of them in armes, and do declare for King and Covenant, which is very ill news. I pray God deliver us from the ill consequences we may justly fear from it. Sir Philip Warwick, I find, is full of trouble in his mind to see how things go, and what our wants are ; and so I have no delight to trouble him with discourse, though I honour the man with all my heart, and I think him to be a very able, right-honest man. To read the late printed discourse of witches by a member of Gresham College : ¹ the discourse being well writ, in good stile, but methinks not very convincing.

25th (Lord's day). To White Hall, and there to the chapel, where in my usual place I heard one of the King's chaplains, one Mr. Floyd, preach. He was out two or three times in his prayer, and as many in his sermon, but yet he made a most excellent good sermon, of our duty to imitate the lives and practice of Christ and the saints departed, and did it very handsomely and excellent stile ; but was a little overlarge in magnifying the graces of the nobility and prelates,

¹ "A Blow at Modern Sadducism, with an account of the Demon of Tedworth," 4to. London, 1666.

that we have seen in our memories in the world, whom God hath taken from us. At the end of the sermon an excellent anthem; but it was a pleasant thing, an idle companion in our pew, a prating, bold counsellor that hath been heretofore at the Navy Office, and noted for a great eater and drinker, not for quantity, but of the best, his name Tom Bales, said, "I know a fitter anthem for this sermon," speaking only of our duty of following the saints, and I know not what. "Cooke should have sung, 'Come, follow, follow me.'"¹ To Sir G. Carteret's to dinner; where much company. Among others, Mr. Carteret and my Lady Jemimah, and Mr. [John] Ashburnham, the great man, who is a pleasant man, and that hath seen much of the world, and more of the Court. Into the Court, and attended there till the Council met, and then was called in, and I read my letter. My Lord Treasurer declared that the King had nothing to give till the Parliament did give him some money. So the King did of himself bid me to declare to all that would take our tallies for payment, that he should, soon as the Parliament's money do come in, take back their tallies, and give them money: which I giving him occasion to repeat to me, it coming from him against the *gré*, I perceive, of my Lord Treasurer, I was content therewith, and went out, and glad I have got so much. All the talke of Scotland, where the highest report, I perceive, runs but upon three or four hundred

¹ This is the first line of "The Fairy Queen," which, with the air, is printed in the "Musical Miscellany," London, 1729, vol. ii. p. 22.

in armes ; but they believe that it will grow more, and do seem to apprehend it much, as if the King of France had a hand in it. My Lord Lauderdale do make nothing of it, it seems, and people do censure him for it, he from the beginning saying that there was nothing in it, whereas it do appear to be a pure rebellion ; but no persons of quality being in it, all do hope that it cannot amount to much. Here I saw Mrs. Stewart this afternoon, methought the beautifullest creature that ever I saw in my life, more than ever I thought her, so often as I have seen her ; and I begin to think do exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least now. This being St. Catherine's day, the Queen was at masse by seven o'clock this morning ; and Mr. Ashburnham do say that he never saw any one have so much zeale in his life as she hath : and, the question being asked by my Lady Carteret, much beyond the bigotry that ever the old Queen-mother had. I spoke with Mr. May,¹ who tells me that the design of building the City do go on apace,² and by his description it will be mighty handsome, and to the satisfaction of the people ; but I pray God it come not out too late. Mr. Ashburnham to-day at dinner told how the rich fortune Mrs. Mallett reports of her servants :³ that my Lord Herbert⁴ would have her ; my Lord Hinchinbroke

¹ Hugh May.

² The first brick laid after the fire was in Fleet Street, at the house of a plumber, to cast his lead in, only one room. — RUGGE'S *Diurnal*.

³ *i. e.* lovers.

⁴ William Lord Herbert succeeded his father as sixth Earl of Pembroke, 1669. Ob. unmarried, 1674.

was indifferent to have her;¹ my Lord John Butler² might not have her; my Lord of Rochester would have forced her;³ and Sir — Popham,⁴ who nevertheless is likely to have her, would do anything to have her.⁵

26th. Into the House of Parliament, where, at a great Committee, I did hear, as long as I would, the great case against my Lord Mordaunt,⁶ for some arbi-

¹ They had quarrelled. (See 26th August, *ante*.) She, perhaps, was piqued at Lord Hinchinbroke's refusal 'to compass the thing without consent of friends' (see 25th February, *ante*), whence her expression, "indifferent" to have her. It is worthy of remark that their children intermarried; Lord Hinchinbroke's son married Lady Rochester's daughter.

² Seventh son of the Duke of Ormond, created in 1676 Baron of Aghrim, Viscount of Clonmore, and Earl of Gowran. Ob. 1667, a. p.: see 4th February, *post*.

³ Of the lady thus sought after, whom Pepys calls "a beauty" as well as a fortune, and who shortly afterwards, about the 4th February, 1667, became the wife of the Earl of Rochester, then not twenty years old, no authentic portrait is known to exist. When Mr. Miller, of Albemarle Street, in 1811, proposed to publish an edition of the "*Mémoires de Grammont*," he sent an artist to Windsor to copy there the portraits which he could find of those who figure in that work. In the list given to him for this purpose was the name of Lady Rochester. Not finding amongst the "Beauties," or elsewhere, any genuine portrait of her, but seeing that by Hamilton she is absurdly styled "*une triste héritière*," the artist made a drawing from some unknown portrait at Windsor, of a lady of a sorrowful countenance, and palmed it off upon the bookseller. In the edition of "*Grammont*" it is not actually called Lady Rochester, but "*La Triste Héritière*." A similar falsification had been practised in Edwards's edition of 1793, but a different portrait had been copied. It is needless, almost, to remark how ill applied is Hamilton's epithet.

⁴ Probably Sir Francis Popham, K.B.

⁵ The expression in the original, being indelicate, is softened.

⁶ John Mordaunt, younger son to the first, and brother to the second Earl of Peterborough, having incurred considerable personal risk in endeavouring to promote the King's Restoration, was, in 1659, created Baron Mordaunt of Reigate, and Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon. He was brought to trial and acquitted but by one voice just before Cromwell's death. ("Quar-

trary proceedings of his against one Taylor, whom he imprisoned, and did all the violence to imaginable, only to get him to give way to his abusing his daughter. Here was Mr. Sawyer,¹ my old chamber-fellow, a counsel against my Lord; and I was glad to see him in so good play. Here I met, before the committee sat, with my cozen Roger Pepys, the first time I have spoke with him this parliament. He hath promised to come, and bring Madam Turner with him, who is come to towne to see the City, but hath lost all her goods of all kinds in Salisbury Court, Sir William Turner having not endeavoured, in her absence, to

terly Review," vol. xix. p. 31.) He was soon afterwards made K. B., Lord-Lieutenant of Surrey, and Constable of Windsor Castle: which offices he held till his death, in 1675. In January, 1666-7, Lord Mordaunt was impeached by the House of Commons, for forcibly ejecting William Tayleur and his family from the apartments which they occupied in Windsor Castle, where Tayleur held some appointment, and imprisoning him, for having presumed to offer himself as a candidate for the borough of Windsor. Lord M. was also accused of improper conduct towards Tayleur's daughter. He, however, denied all these charges in his place in the House of Lords, and put in an answer to the articles of impeachment, for hearing which a day was absolutely fixed: but the Parliament being shortly afterwards prorogued, the inquiry seems to have been entirely abandoned, notwithstanding the vehemence with which the House of Commons had taken the matter up. Perhaps the King interfered in Lord Mordaunt's behalf: because Andrew Marvel, in his "Instructions to a Painter," after saying,

"Now Mordaunt may within his castle tower
Imprison parents and the child deflower,"

observes,

"Each does the other blame, and all distrust,
But Mordaunt, *now obliged*, would sure be just."

¹ Afterwards Sir Robert Sawyer, Attorney-General from 1681 to 1687. Ob. 1692. He had been admitted a Pensioner at Magdalene College, Cambridge, June, 1648.

save one penny, to dine with me on Friday next. Roger bids me to help him to some good rich widow ; for he is resolved to go, and retire wholly, into the country ; for, he says, he is confident we shall be all ruined very speedily, by what he sees in the State. No newes from the North at all to-day ; and the newes-book makes the business nothing, but that they are all dispersed. I pray God it may prove so.

27th. At Sir G. Carteret's find my Lord Hinchinbroke, who promises to dine with me to-morrow, and bring Mr. Carteret along with him. Then away to my Lord Crew, and had some good discourse with him, he doubting that all will break in pieces in the kingdom ; and that the taxes now coming out, which will tax the same man in three or four several capacities, as for lands, office, profession, and money at interest, will be the hardest that ever came out ; and do think that we owe it, and the lateness of its being given, wholly to the unpreparedness of the King's own party, to make their demand and choice ; for they have obstructed the giving it by land-tax, which had been done long since. Having ended my visit, I spoke to Sir Thomas Crew, to invite him and his brother John to dinner, to-morrow ; and so home-wards, calling at the cook's, who is to dress it, to bespeak him, and then home, and there set things in order for a very fine dinner, and then to the office, where late very busy and to good purpose as to dispatch of business and then home. To bed, my people sitting up to get things in order against to-morrow.

This evening was brought to me what Griffin had, as he says, taken this evening off of the table in the office, a letter sealed and directed to the Principal Officers and Commissioners of the Navy. It is a serious and just libel against our disorder in paying of our money, making ten times more people wait than we have money for, and complaining by name of Sir W. Batten for paying away great sums to particular people, which is true. I was sorry to see this way of reproach taken against us, but more sorry that there is true ground for it.

28th. To White Hall ; where, though it blows hard and rains hard, yet the Duke of York is gone a-hunting. We therefore lost our labour, and so to get things ready against dinner at home : and at noon comes my Lord Hinchinbroke, Sir Thomas Crew, Mr. John Crew, Mr. Carteret, and Brisband. I had six noble dishes for them, dressed by a man-cook, and commended, as indeed they deserved, for exceeding well done. We eat with great pleasure, and I enjoyed myself in it with reflections upon the pleasures which I at best can expect, yet not to exceed this ; eating in silver plates, and all things mighty rich and handsome about me. Till dark at dinner, and then broke up with great pleasure, especially to myself ; and they away, only Mr. Carteret and I to Gresham College, where they meet now weekly again, and here they had good discourse how this late experiment of the dog, which is in perfect good health, may be improved for good uses to men. Here was

Mr. Henry Howard,¹ that will hereafter be Duke of Norfolk, who is admitted this day into the Society, and being a very proud man, and one that values himself upon his family, writes his name, as he do every where, Henry Howard of Norfolk. Thence home and there comes my Lady Pen Pegg and Mrs. Turner and played at cards and supped with us, and were mighty merry, and so spent the evening and then broke up, and I to bed, my mind mightily pleased with the day's entertainment.

29th. I late at the office, and all the newes I hear I put into a letter this night to my Lord Brouncker at Chatham, thus : —

“I doubt not of your lordship's hearing of Sir Thomas Clifford's succeeding Sir H. Pollard² in the Comptrollership of the King's house ; but perhaps our ill, but confirmed, tidings from the Barbadoes may not have reached you yet, it coming but yesterday ; viz., that about eleven ships, whereof two of the King's, the Hope and Coventry, going thence with men to attack St. Christopher's, were seized by a violent hurricane, and all sunk — two only of thirteen escaping, and those with loss of masts, &c. My Lord Willoughby³ himself is involved in the disaster, and I think two ships thrown upon an island of the French, and so all the men, to 500, become their

¹ See note in “Life,” vol. i.

² Sir Hugh Pollard, Bart., M. P. for Devonshire. Ob. Nov. 27, 1666.

³ Francis Willoughby, fourth Lord Willoughby of Parham, drowned at Barbadoes in 1666.

prisoners. 'Tis said, too, that eighteen Dutch men-of-war are passed the Channell, in order to meet with our Smyrna ships; and some, I hear, do fright us with the King of Sweden's seizing our mast-ships at Gottenburgh. But we have too much ill newes true, to afflict ourselves with what is uncertain. That which I hear from Scotland is, the Duke of York's saying, yesterday, that he is confident the Lieutenant-Generall there hath driven them into a pound, somewhere towards the mountains."

To show how mad we are at home, here, and unfit for any troubles: my Lord St. John did, a day or two since, openly pull a gentleman in Westminster Hall by the nose, one Sir Andrew Henly,¹ while the Judges were upon their benches, and the other gentleman did give him a rap over the pate with his cane, of which fray the Judges, they say, will make a great matter: men are only sorry the gentleman did proceed to return a blow; for, otherwise, my Lord would have been soundly fined for the affront, and may be yet for his affront to the Judges.

30th. To White Hall; and pretty to see, it being St. Andrew's day, how some few did wear St. Andrew's crosse; but most did make a mockery at it, and the House of Parliament, contrary to practice, did sit also: people having no mind to observe the Scotch saints' days till they hear better newes from Scotland. Thence home, and just overtook my cozen Roger

¹ Of Hartshill, Hants; and of Henley, Somersetshire. He was created a Baronet in June, 1660, and died about 1675.

Pepys, Mrs. Turner, Dike, and Joyce Norton, coming by invitation to dine with me. These ladies I have not seen since before the plague. Mrs. Turner is come to towne to look after her things in ner house, but all is lost. She is quite weary of the country, but cannot get her husband to let her live here any more, which troubles her mightily. She was mighty angry with me, that in all this time I never wrote to her, which I do think and take to myself as a fault, and which I have promised to mend. Here I had a noble and costly dinner for them, dressed by a man-cooke, as that the other days was, and pretty merry we were, as I could be with this company and so great a change.

December 1st. Walking to the Old Swan, I did see a cellar in Tower Streete in a very fresh fire, the late great winds having blown it up.¹ It seemed to be only of log-wood, that hath kept the fire all this while in it. Going further, I met my late Lord Mayor Bludworth, under whom the City was burned. But, Lord ! the silly talk that this silly fellow had, only how ready he would be to part with all his estate in these difficult times to advocate the King's service, and complaining that now, as every body did lately in the fire, every body endeavours to save himself, and let the whole perish : but a very weak man he seems to be. By coach home, in the evening, calling at Fay-

¹ The fire continued burning in some cellars of the ruins of the city for four months, though it rained in the month of October ten days without ceasing. — RUGGS's *Diurnal*.

throne's, buying three of my Lady Castlemaine's heads, printed this day,¹ which indeed is, as to the head, I think, a very fine picture, and like her. I did this afternoon get Mrs. Michell to let me only have a sight of a pamphlet lately printed, but suppressed and much called after, called "The Catholique's Apology,"² lamenting the severity of the Parliament against them, and comparing it with the lenity of other princes to Protestants; giving old and late instances of their loyalty to their princes, whatever is objected against them; and excusing their disquiets in Queen Elizabeth's time, for that it was impossible for them to think her a lawfull Queen, if Queen Mary, who had been owned as such, were so; one being the daughter of the true, and the other of a false wife: and that of the Gunpowder Treason, by saying that it was only the practice of some of us, if not the King, to trepan some of their religion into it, it never being defended by the generality of their Church, nor indeed known by them; and ends with a large Catalogue, in red letters, of the Catholiques which have lost their lives in the quarrel of the late King and this. The thing is very well writ indeed.

¹ See 7th Nov., *ante*. A fine impression of this now very rare print was purchased for the Duke of Buckingham, at Bindley's sale, in 1819, for 79*l.*; and resold at the Stowe sale, in 1849, for 33*l.*

² An Apology in behalf of the Papists," by Roger Palmer, first Earl of Castlemaine. The piece has not his name, but it was answered by Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph in 1667; and Lord Castlemaine and Robert Pugh, a secular priest, his assistant, published a reply to the Bishop, in 1668. Both the Earl's pamphlets were seized by order of the House of Commons.—WALPOLE'S *Noble Authors*.

2nd (Lord's day). My wife and I to Mr. Martin's, where find the company almost all come to the christening of Mrs. Martin's child, a girl. A great deal of good plain company. After sitting long, till the church was done, the Parson comes, and then we to christen the child. I was Godfather, and Mrs. Holder, her husband, a good man, I know well, and a pretty lady, that waits, it seems, on my Lady Bath,¹ at White Hall, her name, Mrs. Noble, were Godmothers. After the christening comes in the wine and the sweetmeats, and then to prate and tattle, and then very good company they were, and I among them. Here was old Mrs. Michell and Howlett, and several of the married women of the Hall, whom I knew mayds. Here was also Mrs. Burroughs and Mrs. Bales, the young widow, whom I led home, and having staid till the moon was up, I took my pretty gossip² to White Hall with us, and I saw her in her lodging, and then my owne company again took coach, and no sooner in the coach but something broke, that we were fain there to stay till a smith could be fetched, which was above an hour, and then it costing me 6s. to mend. Away round by the wall and Cow Lane, for fear it should break again, and in pain about the coach all the way. I went to Sir W. Batten's, and there I hear more ill newes still: that all our New England fleete, which went out lately,

¹ Lady Bath was Rachel, daughter of Francis, Earl of Westmoreland, widow of Henry Bourchier, Earl of Bath. She afterwards married Lionel Cranfield, third Earl of Middlesex.

² Mrs. Noble.

are put back a third time by foul weather, and dispersed, some to one port and some to another; and their convoys also to Plymouth; and whether any of them be lost or not, we do not know. This, added to all the rest, do lay us flat in our hopes and courages, every body prophesying destruction to the nation.

3rd. Up, and, among a great number of people that came to speak with me, one was my Lord Peterborough's gentleman, who comes to me to dun me to get some money advanced for my Lord; and I demanding what newes, he tells me that at Court they begin to fear the business of Scotland more and more, and that the Duke of York intends to go to the North to raise an army, and that the King would have some of the nobility and others to go and assist; but they were so served the last year, among others his Lord, in raising forces at their own charge, for fear of the French invading us, that they will not be got out now, without money advanced to them by the King, and this is likely to be the King's case for certain, if ever he comes to have need of any army. By water to Westminster, and there to the Exchequer, and put my tallys in a way of doing for the last quarter. At noon home, and there find Kate Joyce, who dined with me. Her husband and she are weary of their new life of being an Innkeeper, and will leave it, and would fain get some office; but I know none the foole is fit for, but would be glad to help them, if I could, though they have enough to live on, God be thanked! though their loss has been to the value of 3,000*l*. W. Joyce now

has all the trade, she says, the trade being come to that end of the towne. To bed, being weary of the following of my pleasure and sorry for my omitting, though with a true salvo to my vowes, the stating my last accounts in time, as I should, but resolve to settle, and clear all my business before me this month, that I may begin afresh the next yeare, and enjoy some little pleasure freely at Christmas. So to bed, and with more cheerfulness than I have been a good while, to hear that for certain the Scotch rebels are all routed; they having been so bold as to come within three miles of Edinburgh, and there given two or three repulses to the King's forces, but at last were mastered. Three or four hundred killed or taken, among which their leader, Wallis, and seven ministers, they having all taken the Covenant a few days before, and sworn to live and die in it, as they did; and so all is likely to be there quiet again. There is also the very good newes come of four New-England ships come home safe to Falmouth with masts for the King; which is a blessing mighty unexpected, and without which, if for nothing else, we must have failed the next year. But God be praised for thus much good fortune, and send us the continuance of his favour in other things!

5th. By water to White Hall, where we did much business before the Duke of York. At noon home, and Goodgroome dined with us, who teaches my wife to sing. I did give him my song, "Beauty retire," which he has often desired of me, and without flattery I think is a very good song. To the office, and there

late, very busy doing much business, and then home to supper and talk, and then scold with my wife for not reckoning well the times that her musique master has been with her, but setting down more than I am sure, and did convince her, they had been, and in an ill humour of anger with her to bed.

6th. Up, but very good friends with her before I rose, and so to the office, where we sat all the forenoon, and then home to dinner, where Harman dined with us, and great sport to hear him tell how Will Joyce grows rich by the custom of the City coming to his end of the towne, and how he rants over his brother and sister for their keeping an Inne, and goes thither and tears like a prince, calling him hosteller and his sister hostess. Then after dinner, my wife and brother, in another habit,¹ go out to see a play; but I am not to take notice that I know of my brother's going. This day, in the Gazette, is the whole story of defeating of the Scotch rebels, and of the creation of the Duke of Cambridge, Knight of the Garter.²

7th. Up and by water to the Exchequer, where I got my tallies finished for the last quarter for Tangier, and having paid all my fees I to the Swan, whither I sent for some oysters, and thither comes Mr. Falconbridge and Spicer and many more clerks, and there

¹ *i.e.*, without his canonicals.

² James, Earl and Duke of Cambridge, second son of the Duke of York, and one of the five boys who all died infants. At the time when he was created K. G., he was only three years and five months old. He died seven months afterwards.

we eat and drank, and a great deal of their sorry discourse, and so parted, and I by coach home, meeting Balty in the streete about Charing Crosse, which I was glad to see and spoke to him about his mustering business, I being now to give an account how the several muster-masters have behaved themselves, and so home to dinner, where finding the cloth laid and much crumpled but clean, I grew angry and flung the trenchers about the room, and in a mighty heat I was : so a clean cloth was laid, and my poor wife very patient, and so to dinner, and in comes Mrs. Barbara Sheldon, now Mrs. Wood, and dined with us, she mighty fine, and lives, I perceive, mighty happily, which I am glad of for her sake, but hate her husband for a block-head in his choice. So away after dinner leaving my wife and her, and by water to the Strand, and so to the King's playhouse, where two acts were almost done when I came in ; and there I sat with my cloak about my face, and saw the remainder of "The Mayd's Tragedy ;" a good play, and well acted, especially by the younger Marshall, who is become a pretty good actor, and is the first play I have seen in either of the houses, since before the great plague, they having acted now about fourteen days publickly. But I was in mighty pain, lest I should be seen by any body to be at a play.

8th. The great Proviso passed the House of Parliament yesterday ; which makes the King and Court mad, the King having given order to my Lord Chamberlain to send to the playhouses and brothels, to bid

all the Parliament-men that were there to go to the Parliament presently. This is true, it seems; but it was carried against the Court by thirty or forty voices. It is a Proviso to the Poll Bill, that there shall be a Committee of nine persons that shall have the inspection upon oath, and power of giving others, of all the accounts of the money given and spent for this war. This hath a most sad face, and will breed very ill blood. He tells me, brought in by Sir Robert Howard,¹ who is one of the King's servants, at least hath a great office, and hath got, they say, 20,000*l.* since the King came in. Mr. Pierce did also tell me as a great truth, as being told it by Mr. Cowly,² who was by, and heard it, that Tom Killigrew should publicly tell the King that his matters were coming into a very ill state; but that yet there was a way to help all. Says he, "There is a good, honest, able man, that I could name, that if your Majesty would employ, and command to see all things well executed, all things would soon be mended; and this is one Charles Stuart, who now spends his time in employing his lips and lusts about the Court, and hath no other employment; but if you would give him this employment, he were the fittest man in the world to perform it." This, he says,

¹ A younger son of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Berkshire, educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge; knighted at the Restoration, and chosen M. P. for Stockbridge, and afterwards for Castle Rising. He was Auditor of the Exchequer, and a creature of Charles II., who employed him in cajoling the Parliament for money. He published some poems, plays, and political tracts. Ob. 1698.

² Abraham Cowley, the poet.

is most true ; but the King do not profit by any of this, but lays all aside, and remembers nothing, but to his pleasures again ; which is a sorrowful consideration. To the King's playhouse, which troubles me since and hath cost me a forfeit of 10s., which I have paid, and there did see a good part of "The English Monsieur,"¹ which is a mighty pretty play, very witty and pleasant. And the women do very well ; but, above all, little Nelly,² that I am mightily pleased with the play, and much with the House, more than ever I expected, the women doing better than ever I expected, and very fine women. Here I was in pain to be seen, and hid myself ; but, as God would have it, Sir John Chichly come, and sat just by me. I hear that this Proviso in Parliament is mightily ill taken by all the Court party as a mortal blow, and that, that strikes deep into the King's prerogative, which troubles me mightily. In much fear of ill news of our colliers. A fleete of two hundred sail, and fourteen Dutch men-of-war between them and us : and they coming home with small convoy ; and the City in great want, coals being at 3*l.* 3*s.* per chaldron, as I am told. I saw smoke in the ruines this very day.

9th (Lord's day). Up, not to church, but to my chamber, and there begun to enter into this book my journall for September, which in the fire-time I could not enter here, but in loose papers. At noon dined, and then to my chamber all the afternoon and

¹ A comedy, by the Hon. James Howard, printed in 4to., 1674.

² She played Lady Wealthy.

night, looking over and tearing and burning all the unnecessary letters, which I have had upon my file for four or five years backward, which I intend to do quite through all my papers, that I may have nothing by me but what is worth keeping, and fit to be seen, if I should miscarry.

10th. Captain Cocke, with whom I walked in the garden, tells me how angry the Court is at the late Proviso brought in by the House. How still my Lord Chancellor is, not daring to do or say any thing to displease the Parliament; that the Parliament is in a very ill humour, and grows every day more and more so; and that the unskilfulness of the Court, and their difference among one another, is the occasion of all not agreeing in what they would have, and so they give leisure and occasion to the other part to run away with what the Court would not have.

11th. After dinner my wife and I to St. Clement's Church, to Mrs. Turner's lodgings, hard by, to take our leaves of her. She is returning to the North to her children, whereby, I perceive, her husband hath clearly got the mastery of her, and she is likely to spend her days there.¹ Here were several people

¹ John Turner, here alluded to, was the eldest son and heir of Sir William Turner, Lord Mayor of London in 1669, better known as the munificent founder of Kirkleatham Hospital, in Yorkshire, and whose monument is still to be seen in Kirkleatham Church, and in the Hospital a likeness of him in wax-work, with the identical wig and band that he wore. In the east window of the Hospital Chapel also is a stained glass portrait of him in his mayoralty robes, and one of his eldest son. John Turner was brought up to the bar, and became a serjeant-at-law, and purchased an estate in the district of Cleveland. Besides his daughter Theophila, mentioned so often, he had issue two

come to see and take leave of her, she going to-morrow: among others, my Lady Mordant,¹ which was Betty Turner, a most homely widow, but young, and pretty rich, and good natured. Thence, having promised to write every month to her, we home, and I to my office, while my wife to get things together for supper. Anon come our guests, old Mr. Batelier, and his son and daughter, Mercer, which was all our company. We had a good venison pasty and other good cheer, and as merry as in so good, innocent, and understanding company I could be. He is much troubled that wines, laden by him in France before the late proclamation was out cannot now be brought into England, which is much to his and other merchants' loss. We sat long at supper and then to talk, and so late parted and so to bed. This day the Poll Bill was to be passed, and great endeavours used to take away the Proviso.

12th. Sir H. Cholmly did with grief tell me how the Parliament hath been told plainly that the King hath been heard to say, that he would dissolve them rather than pass this Bill with the Proviso; but tells me, that the Proviso is removed, and now carried that

sons, Charles and William, from the eldest of whom descended the late Sir Charles Turner, of Kirkleatham, the second baronet of the family, and the last heir male of his race. He died in 1810. See an account of the family in "The Genealogist and Topographer," part vi.

¹ Sir George Mordaunt, of Massingham, Norfolk, the fourth baronet of his family, espoused Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Nicholas Johnson, of London, niece to Sir W. Turner, above-mentioned, who is the person here alluded to by Pepys. She remarried Francis Godolphin, of Colston, Wilts. — *WOTTON'S Baronetage*.

it shall be done by a Bill by itself. He tells me how the King hath lately paid above 30,000*l.*, to clear debts of my Lady Castlemaine's; and that she and her husband are parted for ever, upon good terms, never to trouble one another more. He says that he hears 400,000*l.* hath gone into the Privy-purse since this war; and that it is that hath consumed so much of our money, and makes the King and Court so mad to be brought to discover it. The very good newes is just come of our four ships from Smyrna, come safe without convoy even into the Downes, without seeing any enemy; which is the best, and indeed only considerable good newes to our Exchange, since the burning of the City; and it is strange to see how it do cheer up men's hearts. Here I saw shops now come to be in this Exchange, and met little Batelier, who sits here but at 3*l.* per annum, whereas he sat at the other at 100*l.*, which he says he believes will prove of as good account to him now as the other did at that rent. From the 'Change to Captain Cocke's, and there, by agreement, dined, and there was Charles Porter, Temple, Fenn, Debasty, whose bad English and pleasant discourses was exceeding good entertainment, Matt. Wren, Major Cooper, and myself, mighty merry and pretty discourse. They talk for certain, that now the King do follow Mrs. Stewart wholly, and my Lady Castlemaine not above once a week; that the Duke of York do not haunt my Lady Denham so much; that she troubles him with matters of State, being of my Lord Bristoll's faction, and that

he avoids; that she is ill still. Newes this day from Brampton, of Mr. Ensum, my sister's sweetheart, being dead: a clowne.

12th. To the 'Change and there met Captain Cocke, and had a second time his direction to bespeak 100*l.* of plate, which I did at Sir R. Viner's, being twelve plates more, and something else I have to choose. W. Hewer dined with me, and showed me a Gazette,¹ in April last, which I wonder should never be remembered by any body, which tells how several persons were then tried for their lives, and were found guilty of a design of killing the King and

¹ The "Gazette" of April 13-26, 1666, which contains the following remarkable passage:—"At the Sessions in the Old Bailey, John Rathbone, an old army colonel, William Saunders, Henry Tucker, Thomas Flint, Thomas Evans, John Myles, Will. Westcot, and John Cole, officers or soldiers in the late Rebellion, were indicted for conspiring the death of his Majesty and the overthrow of the Government. Having laid their plot and contrivance for the surprisal of the Tower, the killing his Grace the Lord General, Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, and Sir Richard Brown; and then to have declared for an equal division of lands, &c. *The better to effect this hellish design, the City was to have been fired,* and the portcullis let down to keep out all assistance; and the Horse Guards to have been surprised in the inns where they were quartered, several ostlers having been gained for that purpose. The Tower was accordingly viewed, and its surprise ordered by boats over the moat, and from thence to scale the wall. One Alexander, not yet taken, had likewise distributed money to these conspirators; and, for the carrying on the design more effectually, they were told of a Council of the great ones that sat frequently in London, from whom issued all orders; which Council received their directions from another in Holland, who sat with the States; and that *the third of September* was pitched on for the attempt, as being found by Lilly's Almanack, and a scheme erected for that purpose, to be a lucky day, a planet then ruling which prognosticated the downfall of Monarchy. The evidence against these persons was very full and clear, and they were accordingly found guilty of High Treason." See 10th Nov., 1666, *ante*.

destroying the Government ; and as a means to it, to burn the City ; and that the day intended for the plot was the 3rd of last September. And the fire did indeed break out on the 2nd of September, which is very strange, methinks, and I shall remember it. Sir W. Warren and Mr. Moore both tell me that my Lord Sandwich is called home, and that he do grow more and more in esteem everywhere, and is better spoken of, which I am mighty glad of, though I knew well enough his deserving the same before, and did foresee that it will come to it. For these three or four days I perceive my overworking my eyes by candlelight do hurt them as it did the last winter, that by day I am well and do get them right, but then after candlelight they begin to be sore and run, so that I intend to get some green spectacles.

14th. By coach to White Hall, seeing many smokes of the fire by the way yet, and took up into the coach with me a country gentleman, who asked me room to go with me, it being dirty — one come out of the North to see his son, after the burning of his house : a merchant here. Endeavoured to wait on the Duke of York, but he would not stay from the parliament. Met my good friend Mr. Evelyn, and walked with him a good while, lamenting our condition for want of good council, and the King's minding of his business and servants. The house sat till three o'clock, and then up : and I home with Sir Stephen Fox to his house to dinner, and the Cofferer¹ with us. There I find Sir

¹ William Ashburnham, younger brother of John Ashburnham, and first-

S. Fox's lady, a fine woman, and seven the prettiest children of their's that ever I knew almost. A very genteel dinner, and in great state and fashion, and excellent discourse ; and nothing like an old experienced man and a courtier, and such is the Cofferer Ashburnham. The House have been mighty hot to-day against the Paper Bill, showing all manner of averseness to give the King money ; which these courtiers do take mighty notice of, and look upon the others as bad rebels as ever the last were. But the courtiers did carry it against those men upon a division of the House, a great many, that it should be committed ; and so it was : which they reckon good news. Home, where I find Foundes his present, of a fair pair of candlesticks, and half a dozen of plates come, which cost him full 50*l*., and is a very pretty present ; and here I met with, sealed up, from Sir H. Cholmly, the lampoon, or the Mocke-Advice to a Paynter, abusing the Duke of York and my Lord Sandwich, Pen, and every body, and the King himself, and all the matters of the navy and war. I am sorry for my Lord Sandwich's having so great a part in it.

15th. To the office, where my Lord Brouncker,

cousin to the Duke of Buckingham. He was an officer of distinction in the King's Army during the Civil War ; and, after the Restoration, made Cofferer of the Household to Charles II. Ob. s.p. 1671. He married the "young, beautiful, and rich widow" of James Ley, Earl of Marlborough, Lord High Treasurer of England, to whom she was third wife. She was daughter of John, Lord Butler, of Bramfield, by Elizabeth Villiers, sister of the first Duke of Buckingham, and therefore nearly related to William Ashburnham. A splendid monument to William Ashburnham, and to the Countess of Marlborough, with whom he lived happily for nearly forty-five years, is in Ashburnham Church.

newly come to town, from his being at Chatham and Harwich to spy enormities: and at noon I met with him and his lady, Williams, to Captain Cocke's, where a good dinner, and very merry. Good news to-day upon the Exchange, that our Hamburg fleet is got in; and good hopes that we may soon have the like of our Gottenburgh, and then we shall be well for this winter. And by and by comes in Matt. Wren¹ from the Parliament-House; and tells us that he and all his party of the House, which is the Court party, are fools, and have been made so this day by the wise men of the other side; for, after the Court party had carried it yesterday so powerfully for the Paper-Bill,² yet now it is laid aside wholly, and to be supplied by a land tax; which it is true will do well, and will be the sooner finished, which was the great argument for the doing of it. But then it shows them fools, that they would not permit this to have been done six weeks ago, which they might have had. And next, they have parted with the Paper Bill, which, when once begun, might have proved a very good flower in the Crowne, as any there. So they are truly outwitted by the other side.

16th (Lord's day). To White Hall, and there walked up and down to the Queen's side, and there saw my dear Lady Castlemaine, who continues admirable, methinks, and I do not hear but that the King is

¹ See March 7, 1666, *ante*.

² It was called "A Bill for raising part of the supply for his Majesty by an imposition on Sealed Paper and Parchment."

the same to her still as ever. Anon to the chapel, by the King's closet, and heard a very good anthem. Then with Lord Brouncker to Sir W. Coventry's chamber; and there we sat with him and talked. He is weary of anything to do, he says, in the Navy. He tells us this Committee of Accounts will enquire sharply into our office. To Sir P. Neale's chamber; Sir Edward Walker being there, and telling us how he hath lost many fine rolls of antiquity in heraldry by the late fire, but hath saved the most of his papers. Here was also Dr. Wallis,¹ the famous scholar and mathematician; but he promises little. Lord Brouncker tells me, that he do not believe the Duke of York will go to sea again, though there are many about the King that would be glad of any occasion to take him out of the world, he standing in their ways; and seemed to mean the Duke of Monmouth, who spends his time the most viciously and idle of any man, nor will be fit for anything; yet he speaks as if it were not impossible but the King would own him for his son, and that there was a marriage between his mother and him; and that nothing can help us but the King's making a peace soon as he hath this money; and thereby putting himself out of debt, and so becoming a good husband, and then he will neither need this nor any other Parliament, till he can have one to his mind: for no Parliament can, as he says, be kept long good, but that they will spoil one another, and that therefore it hath been the

¹ John Wallis, S.T.P., F.R.S., Savilian Professor of Geometry. Ob. 1703, aged eighty-seven.

practice of kings to tell Parliaments what he hath for them to do, and give them so long time to do it in, and no longer.

17th. Comes Mr. Cæsar,¹ and then Goodgroome,² and, what with one and the other, nothing but musique with me this morning, to my content ; and the more, to see that God Almighty hath put me into condition to bear the charge of all this. So out to the 'Change, and did a little business, and then home, where they two musicians and Mr. Cooke come to see me, and Mercer to go along with my wife this afternoon to a play. My wife well home in the evening from the play ; which I was glad of, it being cold and dark, and she having her necklace of pearl on, and none but Mercer with her. Spent the evening in fitting my books, to have the number set upon each, in order to my having an alphabet of my whole, which will be of great ease to me.

18th. I hear the ill news that poor Batters, that had been born and bred a seaman, and brought up his ship from sea but yesterday, was, going down from me to his ship, drowned in the Thames, which is a sad fortune, and do make me afraid, and will do, more than ever I was.

19th. Talked of the King's family with Mr. Hing-

¹ Mr. Cæsar seems to have been a composer. Some of his songs are in different collections of the time, under the name of William Cæsar, *alias* Smegergill.

² John Goodgroome, a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and a composer of songs, printed in the "Treasury of Music." — HAWKINS'S *Hist. of Music*. There are also some of his songs in one of Playford's "Collections."

ston, the organist. He says many of the musique are ready to starve, they being five years behindhand for their wages; nay, Evens, the famous man upon the Harp, having not his equal in the world, did the other day die for mere want, and was fain to be buried at the almes of the parish, and carried to his grave in the dark at night without one linke, but that Mr. Hingston met it by chance, and did give 12*d.* to buy two or three links. Thence I up to the Lords' House to enquire for my Lord Bellassis; and there hear how at a conference this morning between the two Houses about the business of the Canary Company, my Lord Buckingham leaning rudely over my Lord Marquis Dorchester,¹ my Lord Dorchester removed his elbow. Duke of Buckingham asked him if he was uneasy; Dorchester replied, yes, and that he durst not do this were he any where else: Buckingham replied, yes he would, and that he was a better man than himself; Dorchester said that he lyed. With this Buckingham struck off his hat, and took him by his periwig, and pulled it aside, and held him. My Lord Chamberlain and others interposed, and, upon coming into the House, the Lords did order them both to the Tower, whither they are to go this afternoon. I down into the Hall, and there the Lieutenant of the Tower² took me with him, and would have me to the Tower to dinner;

¹ Henry Pierrepont, second Earl of Kingston, created Marquis of Dorchester, 1645. Ob. 1680. See an account of this quarrel in Lord Clarendon's "Life," vol. iii. p. 153, edit 1827.

² Sir John Robinson.

where I dined at the head of his table, next his lady,¹ who is comely and seeming sober and stately, but very proud and very cunning, or I am mistaken, and wanton, too. This day's work will bring the Lieutenant of the Tower 350*l*. Thence home, and upon Tower Hill saw about 3 or 400 seamen get together; and one, standing upon a pile of bricks, made his sign, with his handkercher, upon his stick, and called all the rest to him, and several shouts they gave. This made me afraid; so I got home as fast as I could. But by and by Sir W. Batten and Sir R. Ford do tell me, that the seamen have been at some prisons, to release some seamen, and the Duke of Albemarle is in armes, and all the Guards at the other end of the town; and the Duke of Albemarle is gone with some forces to Wapping, to quell the seamen; which is a thing of infinite disgrace to us. I sat long talking with them; and among other things, Sir R. Ford make me understand how the House of Commons is a beast not to be understood, it being impossible to know beforehand the success almost of any small plain thing, there being so many to think and speak to any business, and they of so uncertain minds and interests and passions. He did tell me, and so did Sir W. Batten, how Sir Allen Brodericke² and Sir Allen

¹ Anne, daughter of Sir George Whitmore.

² Sir Alan Broderick died on the 28th November, 1680, and was interred at Wandsworth, on the 3rd December, when his funeral sermon was preached by Nathaniel Resbury, D.D., incumbent of the parish. The following extracts from the discourse, which, though printed, is very scarce, may throw some light on the knight's character, and, from their quaintness, are interest-

Apsly¹ did come drunk the other day into the House, and did both speak for half an hour together, and could not be either laughed, or pulled, or bid to sit down and hold their peace, to the great contempt of the King's servants and cause; which I am grieved at with all my heart. We were full in discourse of the state of our times, and the horrid shame brought on the King's service by the just clamours of the poor seamen, and that we must be undone in a little time. Home full of trouble on these considerations, and, among other things, I to my chamber, and there to ticket a good part of my books, in order to the num-

ing. "In the first place, therefore, I might be very well allow'd to begin with that usual head of panegyrick, where the subject could well bear it, viz., the quality of his birth and extract, and so give you his lineage in a long series of worthy and honourable ancestry, who from time immemorial had liv'd in the Registry of Honour in the Northern parts, till his own father, by the occasion of a noble trust, viz., the Lieutenancy of the Tower of London, came to add warmth to our Southern clime, and bless'd this place not only with his own and his religious Lady's presence and vertues (whose names and memories are still fragrant in those odours of goodness wherein they have been so plentifully scented in life), but with a numerous and valuable progeny, amongst whom was this wonder both of greatness and goodness. . . . I will readily acknowledge (and why, indeed, should I scruple to own what himself with such repeated contrition and brokenness of spirit would to all sober ears so freely and heartily condemn himself for?) that a long scene of his life had been acted off in the sports and follies of sin. If I may use his own words, it was a pagan and abandoned way he had sometime pursu'd, scepticism itself not excepted. . . . He had for many years practis'd in the politicks of this nation, and having so nearly attacht himself to one of the greatest Ministers of State [Lord Chancellor Clarendon] that this kingdom ever knew (whose mistaken wisdom and integrity perhaps hath been since better understood by the want of him), made himself no small figure in the administration." The Lords Middleton are descended from Sir St. John Broderick, a younger brother of Sir Alan

¹ See 4th July, 1663.

bering of them for my easy finding them to read as I have occasion. So to supper and to bed, with my heart full of trouble.

20th. Home to dinner, where was Balty come, who is well again. Here dined with me also Mrs. Batters, poor woman ! now left a sad widow by the drowning of her husband the other day. I pity her, and will do her what kindness I can ; yet I observe something of ill-nature in myself more than should be, that I am colder towards her in my charity than I should be to one so painfull as he and she hath been and full of kindness to their power to my wife and I. After dinner out with Balty, setting him down at the Maypole,¹ in the Strand.

21st. I spent all the afternoon in putting some things, pictures especially, in order, and pasting my Lady Castlemaine's print on a frame, which I have made handsome, and is a fine piece. So to the office in the evening to marshall my papers of accounts presented to the Parliament, against any future occasion to recur to them, which I did do to my great content. So home and did some Tangier work, and to bed.

22nd. News from Hogg that our shipp hath brought in a Lubecker to Portsmouth, likely to prove prize, of deals, which joys us. After writing letters by the post, I with all my clerks to the ticket-office, there to be

¹ The Maypole stood somewhat to the east of the ancient Cross, opposite to Chester Inn, close to the site of the church of St. Mary-le-Strand. In 1717 it was begged by Sir Isaac Newton, and removed to Wanstead, where it was used in raising the largest telescope then known. See 1st June, 1663, note.

informed in the method and disorder of the office, which I find infinite great, of infinite concernment to be mended, and did spend till 12 at night to my great satisfaction, it being a point of our office I was wholly unacquainted with. So with great content home and to bed.

23rd (Lord's day). To church, where a vain fellow with a periwigg preached, Chaplain, as by his prayer appeared, to the Earl of Carlisle.¹

24th. It being frost and dry, as far as Paul's, and so back again through the City by Guildhall, observing the ruins thereabouts, till I did truly lose myself. I this evening did buy me a pair of green spectacles, to see whether they will help my eyes or no. So to the 'Change, and went to the Upper 'Change, which is almost as good as the old one; only shops are but on one side. No newes yet of our Gottenburgh fleete; which makes us have some fears, it being of mighty concernment to have our supply of masts safe. I met with Mr. Cade to-night, my stationer; and he tells me that he hears for certain that the Queen-Mother is about and hath near finished a peace with France, which, as a Presbyterian, he do not like, but seems to fear it will be a means to introduce Popery.

25th (Christmas day). Lay pretty long in bed, and then rose, leaving my wife desirous to sleep, having sat up till four this morning seeing her mayds make mince-pies. I to church, where our parson Mills made

¹ Charles Howard, created Earl of Carlisle, 1661, employed on several Embassies, and Governor of Jamaica. Ob. 1684.

a good sermon. Then home, and dined well on some good ribbs of beef roasted and mince pies ; only my wife, brother, and Barker, and plenty of good wine of my owne, and my heart full of true joy ; and thanks to God Almighty for the goodness of my condition at this day. After dinner, I begun to teach my wife and Barker my song, "It is decreed," which pleases me mightily as now I have Mr. Hinxton's base. Walked alone on foot to the Temple, thinking to have seen a play all alone ; but there, missing of any bills, concluded there was none, and so back home ; and there with my brother reducing the names of all my books to an alphabet, and then to supper and to bed.

26th. To White Hall, to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and thence with him up to the Duke of York, where among other things at our meeting I did offer my assistance to Sir J. Minnes to do the business of his office, relating to the Pursers' accounts, which was well accepted by the Duke of York, and I think I have and shall do myself good in it, if it be taken, for it will confirm me in the Victualling Office, which I do now very little for. Thence home, carrying a barrel of oysters with me. Anon comes Mr. John Andrews and his wife to dine with me and young Batelier and his wife. Here was also Mercer and Creed, who tells me of a most bitter lampoone now out against the Court and the management of State from head to foot, mighty witty and mighty severe. After dinner I put the women into a coach and they to the Duke's house, to a play. It was indifferently done, Gosnell not sing-

ing, but a new wench, that sings naughtily. Thence home, and there Mr. Andrews to the vyall, who plays most excellently on it. Thence to dance, here being Pembleton come, by my wife's direction, and a fiddler ; and we got, also, the elder Batelier to-night, and Nan Wright, and mighty merry we were, and danced ; and so till twelve at night, and to supper, and then to cross purposes, mighty merry, and then to bed.

27th. Up ; and called up by the King's trumpets, which cost me 10s. So to the office. At noon, by invitation, my wife, who had not been there these 10 months, I think, and I, to meet all our families at Sir W. Batten's at dinner, where neither a great dinner for so much company nor anything good or handsome. In the middle of dinner I rose, and by coach to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Scornful Lady" well acted ; Doll Common¹ doing Abigail most excellently, and Knipp the widow very well, and will be an excellent actor, I think. In other parts the play not so well done as need be, by the old actors. This day a house or two was blown up with powder in the Minors, and several people spoiled, and many dug out from under the rubbish.

28th. I to my Lord Crew's, where I find and hear the newes how my Lord's brother, Mr. Nathaniel Crew, hath an estate of 6 or 700*l.* per annum, left him by the death of an old acquaintance of his, but not akin to him at all. And this man is dead without

¹ Mrs. Corey. See 15th January, 1668-9.

will, but had, about ten years since, made over his estate to this Mr. Crew, to him and his heirs for ever, and given Mr. Crew the keeping of the deeds in his own hand all this time ; by which, if he would, he might have taken present possession of the estate, for he knew what they were. This is as great an act of confident friendship as this latter age, I believe, can show. From hence to the Duke's house, and there saw "Macbeth" most excellently acted, and a most excellent play for variety. I had sent for my wife to meet me there, who did come, and after the play was done, I out so soon to meet her at the other door that I left my cloake in the play house, and while I returned to get it, she was gone out and missed me. I not sorry for it much did go to White Hall, and got my Lord Bellassis to get me into the playhouse ; and there, after all staying above an hour for the players, the King and all waiting, which was absurd, saw "Henry the Fifth" well done by the Duke's people, and in most excellent habits, all new vests, being put on but this night. But I sat so high and far off, that I missed most of the words, and sat with a wind coming into my back and neck, which did much trouble me. The play continued till twelve at night ; and then up, and a most horrid cold night it was, and frosty, and moonshine.

29th. Called up with newes from Sir W. Batten that Hogg hath brought in two prizes more : and so I thither, and hear the particulars, which are good ; one of them, if prize, being worth 4000*l*. : for which

God be thanked ! Then to the office, and have the newes brought us of Captain Robinson's coming with his fleete from Gottenburgh : dispersed, though, by foul weather. But he hath light of five Dutch men-of-war, and taken three, whereof one is sunk ; which is very good newes to close up the year with, and most of our merchant-men already heard of to be safely come home, though after long lookings-for, and now to several ports, as they could make them.

30th (Lord's day). To church. Here was a collection for the sexton ; but it came into my head why we should be more bold in making the collection while the psalm is singing, than in the sermon or prayer.

31st. Rising this day with a full design to mind nothing else but to make up my accounts for the year past, I did take money, and walked forth to several places in the towne as far as the New Exchange, to pay all my debts, and so going back I met Doli Lane, with another young woman of the Hall, and took them to the Half Moon Taverne and there drank some burnt wine with them, and so away home to dinner, and then to my accounts, wherein, at last, I find them clear and right ; but, to my great discontent, do find that my gettings this year have been 573*l.* less than my last : it being this year in all but 2,986*l.* ; whereas, the last, I got 3,560*l.* And then again my spendings this year have exceeded my spendings the last by 644*l.* : my whole spendings last year being but 509*l.* ; whereas this year, it appears, I have spent 1,154*l.*, which is a sum not fit to be said

that ever I should spend in one year, before I am master of a better estate than I am. Yet, blessed be God ! and I pray God make me thankful for it, I do find myself worth in money, all good, above 6,200*l.* ; which is above 1,800*l.* more than I was the last year. This, I trust in God, will make me thankfull for what I have, and carefull to make up by care next year what by my negligence and prodigality I have lost and spent this year. Thus ends this year of publick wonder and mischief to this nation, and, therefore, generally wished by all people to have an end. Myself and family well, having four mayds and one clerk, Tom, in my house, and my brother, now with me, to spend time in order to his preferment. Our healths all well, publick matters in a most sad condition ; seamen discouraged for want of pay, and are become not to be governed : nor, as matters are now, can any fleete go out next year. Our enemies, French and Dutch, great, and grow more by our poverty. The Parliament backward in raising, because jealous of the spending of the money ; the City less and less likely to be built again, every body settling elsewhere, and nobody encouraged to trade. A sad, vicious, negligent Court, and all sober men there fearful of the ruin of the whole kingdom this next year ; from which, good God deliver us ! One thing I reckon remarkable in my owne condition is, that I am come to abound in good plate, so as at all entertainments to be served wholly with silver plates, having two dozen and a half.

1666-7.

January 1st. Lay long, being a bitter, cold, frosty day, the frost being now grown old, and the Thames covered with ice.

2nd. My wife up, and with Mrs. Pen to walk in the fields to frost-bite themselves. I found the Court full of great apprehensions of the French, who have certainly shipped landmen, great numbers, at Brest; and most of our people here guess his design for Ireland. We have orders to send all the ships we can possibly to the Downes. God have mercy on us! for we can send forth no ships without men, nor will men go without money, every day bringing us news of new mutinies among the seamen; so that our condition is like to be very miserable. Thence to Westminster Hall, and there met all the Houblons, who did laugh at this discourse of the French, and say they are verily of opinion it is nothing but to send to their plantation in the West Indys, and that we at Court do blow up a design of invading us, only to make the Parliament make more haste in the money matters, and perhaps it may be so, but I do not believe we have any such plot in our heads. After them, I, with several people, among others Mr. George Montagu, who tells me of the King displeasing the House of Commons by evading their Bill for examining Accounts, and putting it into a Commission, though therein he hath left out Coventry and —', and named all the rest the

¹ A blank in the MS.

Parliament named, and all country Lords, not one Courtier: this do not please them. He finds the enmity almost over for my Lord Sandwich. Up to the Painted Chamber, and there heard a conference between the House of Lords and Commons about the Wine Patent; which I was exceeding glad to be at, because of my hearing exceeding good discourses, but especially from the Commons; among others, Mr. Swinfen,¹ and a young man, one Sir Thomas Meres:² and do outdo the Lords infinitely. Alone to the King's House, and there saw "The Custom of the Country,"³ the second time of its being acted, wherein Knipp does the Widow well; but, of all the plays that ever I did see, the worst — having neither plot, language, nor anything in the earth that is acceptable; only Knipp sings a little song admirably.

3rd. By invitation to dinner to Sir W. Pen's, where my Lord Brouncker, Sir W. Batten, and his lady, myself, and wife, Sir J. Minnes, and Mr. Turner. Indifferent merry, to which I contributed the most, but a mean dinner, and in a mean manner. In the evening a little to the office, and then to them, where I found them at cards, and late home to bed, not much pleased with the manner of our entertainment, though to myself more civil than to any. This day, I hear, hath

¹ See 10th November, 1662.

² M. P. for Lincoln, made a Commissioner of the Admiralty, 1679.

³ A play by Beaumont and Fletcher, founded on an old feudal custom, to which there is no need to allude more particularly. See Evelyn's character of it, and of its grossness.

been a conference between the two Houses about the Bill for examining Accounts, wherein the House of Lords their proceedings in petitioning the King for doing it by Commission are, in great heat, voted by the Commons, after the conference unparliamentary.

4th. To the office awhile, and about noon home and saw all things in good order. Anon comes our company to dinner; my Lord Brouncker, Sir W. Pen, his lady, and Pegg, and her servant, Mr. Lowther,¹ my Lady Batten, Mr. Turner and his wife. Here I had good room for ten, and no more would my table have held well, had Sir J. Minnes, who had fallen lame, and his sister, and niece, and Sir W. Batten come, which was a great content to me to be without them. I did make them all gaze to see themselves served so nobly in plate, and a neat dinner, indeed, though but of seven dishes. My Lady Batten home, her ague-fit coming on her at table. At night to sup, and then to cards; and, last of all, to have a flaggon of ale and apples, drunk out of a wood cup,² as a Christmas draught, which made all merry; and they full of admiration at my plate, particularly my flaggons, which, indeed, are noble, and so late home, all with great mirth and satisfaction to them, as I thought, and to myself to see all I have and do so much outdo for neatness and plenty anything done by any of them.

¹ See 11th January, 1666.

² A mazer cup, generally of wood, of a quadrangular form, with a handle on each of the sides. See a curious note on mazers, used as large drinking cups or goblets, in Sir Walter Scott's "*Poetical Works*," p. 488, edit. 1848.

They gone, I to bed, much pleased, and do observe Mr. Lowther to be a pretty gentleman, too good for Peg. Sir W. Pen was much troubled to hear the song I sung, "The New Droll" — it touching him home.

5th. At the office all the morning, thinking at noon to have been taken home, and my wife, according to appointment yesterday, by my Lord Brouncker, to dinner and then to a play, but he had forgot it, at which I was glad, being glad of avoyding the occasion of inviting him again, and being forced to invite his doxy, Mrs. Williams. So home, and took a small snap of victuals, and away, with my wife, to the Duke's house, and there saw "Mustapha," a most excellent play for words and design as ever I did see. I had seen it before but forgot it, so it was wholly new to me, which is the pleasure of my not committing these things to my memory.

6th (Lord's day). To church, where a dull doctor, a stranger, made a dull sermon. Young Michell and I, it being an excellent frosty day, did walk out. He showed me the baker's house in Pudding Lane, where the late great fire begun; and thence all along Thames Street, where I did view several places, and so up by London Wall, by Blackfriars, to Ludgate; and thence to Bridewell, which I find to have been heretofore an extraordinary good house, and a fine coming to it,

¹ There is a song called "The New Droll," in a scarce volume, entitled "The Loyal Garland," printed for T. Passinger, at the Three Bibles, on London Bridge, 1686: see "Fugitive Tracts," published by the Percy Society, in 1849.

before the house by the bridge was built ; and so to look about St. Bride's church and my father's house, and so walked home.

7th. Lord Brouncker tells me that my Lady Denham is at last dead. Some suspect her poisoned, but it will be best known when her body is opened to-day, she dying yesterday morning. The Duke of York is troubled for her ; but hath declared he will never have another public mistress again ; which I shall be glad of, and would the King would do the like. He tells me how the Parliament is grown so jealous of the King's being unfayre to them in the business of the Bill for examining Accounts, Irish Bill, and the business of the Papists, that they will not pass the business for money till they see themselves secure that those Bills will pass ; which they do observe the Court to keep off till all the Bills come together, that the King may accept what he pleases, and what he pleases to reject. He tells me how Mr. Henry Howard, of Norfolk, hath given¹ our Royal Society all his grandfather's library :² which noble gift they value at 10000/. ; and

¹ At Evelyn's suggestion

² Thomas, Earl of Arundel. Mr. Howard gave the Society all the printed books : but the MSS. he divided between the Society and the College of Arms. Of the latter portion a catalogue has been privately printed by Sir Charles George Young, the present Garter King of Arms. In the year 1831, an arrangement was made between the Trustees of the British Museum and the Royal Society, the consent of the late Duke of Norfolk having been obtained, by which the Society's portion of the MSS. was transferred to the Museum, where they are now preserved for public use, and known as the Arundel MSS. A very full catalogue of them has been published by the Trustees. This arrangement enabled the Royal Society to add materially to the scientific part of their library.

gives them accommodation to meet in at his house, Arundell House, they being now disturbed at Gresham College. To the Duke's house, and saw "Macbeth," which, though I saw it lately, yet appears a most excellent play in all respects, but especially in divertisement, though it be a deep tragedy; which is a strange perfection in a tragedy, it being most proper here, and suitable. So home, it being the last play now I am to see till a fortnight hence, I being from the last night entered into my vows for the year coming on. Here I met with the good newes of Hogg's bringing in two prizes more to Plymouth, which if they prove but any part of them, I hope, at least, we shall be no losers by them. So home from the office, to write over fair my vows for this year, and then to supper, and to bed. In great peace of mind having now done it, and brought myself into order again and a resolution of keeping it, and having entered my journall to this night.

8th. My uncle Thomas with me to receive his quarterage. He tells me his son Thomas is set up in Smithfield, where he hath a shop—I suppose, a booth. Saw the catalogue of my books, which my brother hath wrote out, now perfectly alphabeticall.

9th. In a hackney-coach to White Hall, the way being most horridly bad upon the breaking up of the frost, so as not to be passed almost. I do hear, by my Lord Brouncker, that for certain Sir W. Coventry hath resigned his place of Commissioner; which I believe he hath done upon good grounds of security

to himself, from all the blame which must attend our office this next year ; but I fear the King will suffer by it. Thence to Westminster Hall, and there to the conference of the Houses about the word "Nuisance,"¹ which the Commons would have, and the Lords will not, in the Irish Bill. The Commons do it professedly to prevent the King's dispensing with it ; which Sir Robert Howard and others did expressly repeat often : viz., "that no King ever could do any thing which was hurtful to his people." Now the Lords did argue, that it was an ill precedent, and that which will ever hereafter be used as a way of preventing the King's dispensation with acts ; and therefore rather advise to pass the Bill without that word, and let it go, accompanied with a petition, to the King, that he will not dispense with it ; this being a more civil way to the King. They answered well, that this do imply that the King should pass their Bill, and yet with design to dispense with it ; which is to suppose the King guilty of abusing them. And more, they produce precedents for it ; namely, that against new buildings and about leather, wherein the word "Nuisance" is used to the purpose : and further, that they do not rob the King of any right he ever had, for he never had a power to do hurt to his people, nor would exercise it ; and therefore there is no danger, in the

¹ In the "Bill against importing Cattle from Ireland and other parts beyond the Seas," the Lords proposed to insert "Detriment and Mischief" instead of "Nuisance." The Lords finally consented that the latter word should stand in the Bill — *Commons' Journals*.

passing this Bill, of imposing on his prerogative ; and concluded, that they think they ought to do this, so as the people may really have the benefit of it when it is passed, for never any people could expect so reasonably to be indulged something from a King, they having already given him so much money, and are likely to give more. Thus they broke up, both adhering to their opinions ; but the Commons seemed much more full of judgment and reason than the Lords. Then the Commons made their Report to the Lords of their vote, that their Lordships' proceedings in the Bill for examining Accounts were unparliamentary ; they having, while a Bill was sent up to them from the Commons about the business, petitioned his Majesty that he would do the same thing by his Commission. They did give their reasons : viz., that it had no precedent ; that the King ought not to be informed of anything passing in the Houses till it comes to a Bill ; that it will wholly break off all correspondence between the two Houses, and in the issue wholly infringe the very use and being of Parliaments. Thence to Faythorne, and bought a head or two ; one of them my Lord of Ormond's, the best I ever saw. To Arundell House, where first the Royal Society meet, by the favour of Mr. Harry Howard, who was there. And here was a great meeting of worthy noble persons ; but my Lord Brouncker, who pretended to make a congratulatory speech upon their coming thither, and great thanks to Mr. Howard, did do it in the worst manner in the world.

11th. Sir W. Warren told me, how my Lord Brouncker should take notice of the two flaggons¹ he saw at my house at dinner, at my late feast, and merrily, yet I know enviously, said, I could not come honestly by them. This I am glad to hear, though vexed to see his ignoble soul, but I shall beware of him, and yet it is fit he should see I am no mean fellow, but can live in the world, and have something.

14th. Busy till night, pleasing myself mightily to see what a deal of business goes off a man's hands when he stays by it. Sir W. Batten tells me, the Lords do agree at last with the Commons about the word "Nuisance" in the Irish Bill, and do desire a good correspondence between the two Houses: and that the King do intend to prorogue them the last of this month.

15th. This afternoon, Knipp acts Mrs. Weaver's great part in "The Indian Emperour,"² and is coming on to be a great actor. But I am so fell to my business, that I, though against my inclination, will not go.

16th. Sir W. Coventry came to me aside in the Duke's chamber, to tell that he had not answered part of a late letter of mine, because *littera scripta manet*. About his leaving the office, he tells me, it is because he finds that his business at Court will not permit him to attend it; and then he confesses that he seldom of late could come from it with satisfaction, and therefore

¹ Presented by Mr. Gauden: see 28th July, 1664.

² "The Indian Emperour," by J. Dryden, intended as a sequel to "The Indian Queen."

would not take the King's money for nothing. I professed my sorrow for it, and prayed the continuance of his favour; which he promised. I do believe he hath done like a very wise man in reference to himself; but I doubt it will prove ill for the King, and for the office. Prince Rupert, I hear, is very ill; yesterday given over, but better to-day. This day, before the Duke of York, the business of the Muster-Masters was reported, and Balty found the best of the whole number, so as the Duke enquired who he was, and whether he was a stranger by his two names, both strange, and offered that he and one more, who has done next best, should have not only their owne, but part of the others' salary, but that I having said he was my brother-in-law, he did stop, but they two are ordered their pay, which I am glad of, and some of the rest will lose their pay, and others be laid by the heels. I am glad of this being ended so well. I did also, this morning, move in a business wherein Mr. Hater has concerned me, about getting a ship, laden with salt from France, permitted to unload, coming in after the King's declaration was out, which I have hopes by some dexterity to get done. Then with the Duke of York to the King, to receive his commands for stopping the sale this day of some prize-goods at the Prize-Office, fit for the Navy; and received the King's commands, and carried them to the Lords' House, to my Lord Ashly, who was angry much thereat, and I am sorry it fell to me to carry the order. So, against his will, he signed a note I writ to the Com-

missioners of Prizes, which I carried and delivered to Kingdone, at their new office in Aldersgate Streete. Sir Stephen Fox, among other things, told me his whole mystery in the business of the interest he pays as Treasurer for the Army. They give him 12*d.* per pound quite through the Army, with condition to be paid weekly. This he undertakes upon his own private credit, and to be paid by the King at the end of every four months. If the King pay him not at the end of the four months, then, for all the time he stays longer, my Lord Treasurer, by agreement, allows him eight per cent. per annum for the forbearance. So that, in fine, he hath about twelve per cent. from the King and the Army, for fifteen or sixteen months' interest; out of which he gains soundly, his expense being about 130,000*l.* per annum; and hath no trouble in it, compared, as I told him, to the trouble I must have to bring in an account of interest. I was, however, glad of being thus enlightened, and so away to the other council door, and then got in and hear a piece of a cause, heard before the King, about a ship deserted by her fellows, who were bound mutually to defend each other, in their way to Virginy, and taken by the enemy, but it was but meanly pleaded. After supper, my wife told me how she had moved to W. Hewer the business of my sister for a wife to him, which he received with mighty acknowledgements, as she says, above anything; but says he hath no intention to alter his condition: so that I am in some measure sorry she ever moved it; but I hope he will

think it only came from her. Talk there is of a letter to come from Holland, desiring a place of treaty ; but I do doubt it. This day I observe still, in many places, the smoking remains of the late fire : the ways mighty bad and dirty. This night Sir R. Ford told me how this day, at Christ Church Hospital, they have given a living over 200*l.* per annum to Mr. Sanchy, my old acquaintance, which I wonder at, he commending him mightily ; but am glad of it. He tells me, too, how the famous Stillingfleete¹ was a Blue-coat boy.

18th. This morning came Captain Cocke to me, and tells me that the King comes to the House this day to pass the Poll Bill and the Irish Bill ; and that, though the Faction is very froward in the House, yet all will end well there. But he says that one had got a Bill ready to present in the House against Sir W. Coventry, for selling of places, and says he is certain of it, and how he was withheld from doing it. He says, that the Vice-chamberlaine is now one of the greatest men in England again, and was he that did prevail with the King to let the Irish Bill go with the word "Nuisance." He told me, that Sir G. Carteret's declaration of giving double to any man that will prove that any of his people have demanded or taken any thing for forwarding the payment of the wages of any man, of which he sent us a copy yesterday, which we approved of, is set up, among other places, upon

¹ See 16th April, 1665.

the House of Lords' door. I do not know how wisely this is done. This morning, also, there come to the office a letter from the Duke of York, commanding our payment of no wages to any of the muster-masters of the fleete the last year, but only two, my brother Balty, taking notice that he had taken pains therein, and one Ward, who, though he had not taken so much as the other, yet had done more than the rest. At night I, by appointment, home, where W. Batelier and his sister Mary, and the two Mercers, to play at cards and sup, and did cut our great cake lately given us by Russell: a very good one. Here very merry late. Sir W. Pen told me this night how the King did make them a very sharp speech in the House of Lords to-day, saying that he did expect to have had more Bills; that he purposes to prorogue them on Monday come se'nnight; that whereas they have unjustly conceived some jealousys of his making a peace, he declares he knows of no such thing or treaty: and so left them. But with so little effect, that as soon as he came into the House, Sir W. Coventry moved, that now the King hath declared his intention of proroguing them, it would be loss of time to go on with the thing they were upon, when they were called to the King, which was the calling over the defaults of Members appearing in the House; for that, before any person could now come or be brought to town, the House would be up. Yet the Faction did desire to delay time, and contend so as to come to a division of the House; where, however,

it was carried, by a few voices, that the debate should be laid by. But this shows that they are not pleased, or that they have not any awe over them from the King's displeasure.

19th. Sir W. Batten tells me to my wonder that at his coming to my Lord Ashly, yesterday morning, to tell him what prize-goods he would have saved for the Navy, and not sold, according to the King's order on the 17th, he fell quite out with him in high terms; and he says, too, that they did go on with the sale yesterday, even of the very hempe, and other things, at which I am astonished, and will never wonder at the ruine of the King's affairs, if this be suffered.

20th (Lord's day). I was sorry to hear of the heat the House was in yesterday about the ill management of the Navy; though I think they were well answered, both by Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Coventry, as he informs me of the substance of their speeches. I to church, and there, beyond expectation, find our seat, and all the church crammed, by twice as many people, as used to be: and to my great joy find Mr. Frampton¹ in the pulpit; and I think the best sermon, for goodness and oratory, without affectation or study, that ever I heard in my life. The truth is, he preaches the most like an apostle that ever I heard man; and it was much the best time that I ever spent in my life at church. His text, Ecclesiastes xi., verse 8th—
"But if a man live many years, and rejoice in them

¹ See *ante*, 10th October, 1666.

all, yet let him remember the days of darkness, for they shall be many. All that cometh is vanity." To White Hall, and there walked in the Parke, and a little to my Lord Chancellor's, where the King and Cabinet met, and there met Mr. Brisband, with whom good discourse, and there he did lend me "The Third Advice to a Paynter," a bitter satyre upon the service of the Duke of Albemarle the last year.¹ I took it home with me, and will copy it, having the former, being also mightily pleased with it.

21st. To the Swede's Resident's² in the Piazza, to discourse with him about two of our prizes, wherein he put in his concernment as for his countrymen. We had no satisfaction, nor did give him any, but I find him a cunning fellow. He lives in one of the great houses there, but ill-furnished; and came to us out of bed in his furred mittens and furred cap. Thence to Exeter House to the Doctors Commons, and there with our Proctors to Dr. Walker, who did hear our matters, and after a dull seeming hearing of them read, did discourse most understandingly of them, as well as ever I heard man, telling us all our grounds of pretence to the prize would do no good, which troubled us, but I was mightily taken to hear his manner of discourse. Thence up to the Lords' House, and there

¹ Sir John Denham's name is put to these poems, but they were supposed to have been written by Andrew Marvel. The printer, being discovered, was sentenced to the pillory.

² Sir James Barkman Leyenburg, many years the Swedish Resident in this country. He is the person mentioned in the note to Nov. 26, 1660, as having in 1671 married the widow of Sir W. Batten.

came mighty seasonably to hear the Solicitor about my Lord Buckingham's pretence to the title of Lord Rosse.¹ Mr. Attorney Montagu is also a good man, and so is old Sir P. Ball;² but the Solicitor³ and Scroggs⁴ after him are excellent men. At home find Lovett, to whom I did give my Lady Castlemayne's head to do. He is talking of going into Spayne to get money by his art, but I doubt he will do no good, he being a man of an unsettled head. Thence by water to Deptford, and there did some little business and walked home, and there came into my company three drunken seamen, but one especially, who told me such stories, calling me Captain, as made me mighty merry, and they would leap and skip, and kiss what mayds they met all the way. I did at first give them money to drink, lest they should know who I was, and so become troublesome to me. Parted at Redriffe and there home and to the office, where did much business,

¹ The ancient barony of De Ros, created by writ in 1264, was carried, with Belvoir Castle and other great possessions, into the family of Manners, by the marriage of Eleanor, sister and heir of Edmund Lord de Ros (who died in 1508), to Sir Robert Manners. Katharine, only daughter and heir of Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland, married, first, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and, secondly, Randal Macdonnal, Marquis of Antrim. On her death, the barony of De Ros was claimed by her son, the second Duke of Buckingham. He died without issue in 1687, and the barony remained in abeyance until the year 1806, when it was determined by the Crown in favour of Lady Henry Fitzgerald, the mother of the late and the present Lords de Ros.

² Sir Peter Ball, the Queen's Attorney-General.

³ Sir Edward Turner.

⁴ Sir William Scroggs, King's Serjeant, 1669; afterwards Chief-Justice of the King's Bench.

and then to Sir W. Batten's, where Sir W. Pen, Sir R. Ford, and I to hear a proposition Sir R. Ford was to acquaint us with from the Swedes Ambassador, in manner of saying, that for money he might be got to our side and relinquish the trouble he might give us. Sir W. Pen did make a long simple declaration of his resolution to give nothing to deceive any poor man of what was his right by law, but ended by doing whatever any body else would, and we did commission Sir R. Ford to give promise of not beyond 350*l.* to him and his Secretary, in case they did not oppose us in the Phoenix (the net profits of which, as Sir R. Ford cast up before us, the Admiral's tenths, and ship's thirds, and other charges all cleared, will amount to 3000*l.*) and that we did gain her. Sir R. Ford did pray for a curse upon his family, if he was privy to anything more than he told us (which I believe he is a knave in), yet we all concluded him the most fit man for it and very honest, and so left it wholly to him to manage as he pleased. So home, where W. Hewer's mother was, and supped with us. His mother a well favoured old little woman and a good woman, I believe. This night, at supper, comes from Sir W. Coventry the Order of Council¹ for my Lord Brouncker to do all the Comptroller's part relating to the Treasurer's accounts, and Sir W. Pen, all relating to the Victualler's, and Sir J. Minnes to do the rest.

¹ Dated 16th January, 1666-7, and printed in "Memoirs relating to the Conduct of the Navy," 8vo. 1729, p. 59.

This, I hope, will do much better for the King, and, I think, will give neither of them ground to over-top me, as I feared they would ; which pleases me mightily. This evening, Mr. Wren and Captain Cocke called upon me at the office, and there told me how the House was in better temper to-day, and hath passed the Bill for the remainder of the money, but not to be passed finally till they have done some other things which they will have passed with it ; wherein they are very open, what their meaning is, which was but doubted before, for they do in all respects doubt the King's pleasing them.

22nd. Up, and there came to me Darnell the fiddler, one of the Duke's house, and brought me a set of lessons, all three parts, I heard them play to the Duke of York this Christmas at his lodgings, and bid him get me them. I did give him a crowne for them, and did enquire after the musique of the "Siege of Rhodes," which, he tells me, he can get me, which I am mighty glad of. So to the office, where among other things I read the Councill's order about my Lord Brouncker and Sir W. Pen to be assistants to the Comptroller, which quietly went down with Sir J. Minnes, poor man, he seeming a little as if he would be thought to have desired it, but yet apparently to his discontent ; and, I fear, as the order runs, it will hardly do much good. At noon to dinner, and there comes a letter from Mrs. Pierce, telling me she will come and dine with us on Thursday next, with some of the players, Knipp, &c., which I was glad of, but my wife vexed, which vexed

me ; but I seemed merry, but know not how to order the matter, whether they shall come or no.

23rd. To St. James's, to see the organ Mrs. Turner told me of the other night, of my late Lord Aubigney's ; and I took my Lord Brouncker with me, he being acquainted with my present Lord Almoner, Mr. Howard,¹ brother to the Duke of Norfolk ; so he and I did see the organ, but I do not like it, it being but a bauble, with a virginal joining to it : so I shall not meddle with it. The Almoner seems a good-natured gentleman : here I observed the deske which he hath, [made] to remove, and is fastened to one of the armes of his chayre. I do also observe the counterfeited windows there was, in the form of doors with looking-glasses instead of windows, which makes the room seem both bigger and lighter, I think ; and I have some thoughts to have the like in one of my rooms. He discoursed much of the goodness of the musique in Rome, but could not tell me how long musique had been in any perfection in that church, which I would be glad to know. He speaks much of the great buildings that this Pope,² whom, in mirth to us, he calls Antichrist, hath done in his time. Away, and my Lord and I walking into the Park, I did observe the new buildings : and my Lord, seeing I had a desire to see them, they being the place for

¹ Philip Howard, Lord Almoner to Queen Catherine, and third son of Henry Howard, Earl of Arundel, who died in 1652. He was made a Cardinal by Clement X. in 1675, and died in Rome in 1694. He was generally styled the Cardinal of Norfolk.

² Alexander VII., by name Fabio Chigi.

the priests and fryers, he took me back to my Lord Almoner; and he took us quite through the whole house and chapel, and the new monastery, showing me most excellent pieces in wax-worke: a crucifix given by a Pope to Mary Queen of Scotts, where a piece of the Cross is;¹ two bits set in the manner of a cross in the foot of the crucifix: several fine pictures, but especially very good prints of holy pictures. I saw the dortoire² and the cells of the priests, and

¹ Pieces of "the Cross" were formerly held in such veneration, and were so common, that it has been often said enough existed to build a ship. Most readers will remember the distinction which Sir W. Scott represents Louis XI. (with great appreciation of that monarch's character), as drawing between an oath taken on a false piece and one taken on a piece of the *true* cross. Sir Thomas More, a very devout believer in relics, says ("Works," p. 119), that "Luther wished, in a sermon of his, that he had in his hand all the pieces of the Holy Cross: and said that if he so had, he would throw them there as never sun should shine on them: — and for what worshipful reason would the wretch do such villany to the cross of Christ? Because, as he saith, that there is so much gold now bestowed about the garnishing of the pieces of the Cross, that there is none left for poore folke. Is not this a high reason? As though all the gold that is now bestowed about the pieces of the Holy Cross would not have failed to have been given to poor men, if they had not been bestowed about the garnishing of the Cross! and as though there were nothing lost, but what is bestowed about Christ's Cross!" Wolsey, says Cavendish, on his fall, gave to Norris, who brought him a ring of gold as a token of good will from Henry, "a little chaine of gold, made like a bottle chain, with a cross of gold, wherein was a piece of the Holy Cross, which he continually wore about his neck, next his body; and said, furthermore, 'Master Norris, I assure you, when I was in prosperity, although it seems but small in value, yet I would not gladly have departed with the same for a thousand pounds.'" — *Life*, ed. 1852, p. 167. Evelyn mentions, "Diary," 17th November, 1664, that he saw in one of the chapels in St. Peter's a crucifix with a piece of the true cross in it. Amongst the jewels of Mary Queen of Scotts was a cross of gold, which had been pledged to Hume of Blackadder for 1000*l*. — CHALMERS'S *Life*, vol. i. p. 31

² Dormitory.

we went into one ; a very pretty little room, very clean, hung with pictures, set with books. The Priest was in his cell, with his hair clothes to his skin, bare-legged, with a sandall only on, and his little bed without sheets, and no feather bed ; but yet, I thought, soft enough. His cord about his middle ; but in so good company, living with ease, I thought it a very good life. A pretty library they have. And I was in the refectoire, where every man his napkin, knife, cup of earth, and basin of the same ; and a place for one to sit and read while the rest are at meals. And into the kitchen I went, where a good neck of mutton at the fire, and other victuals boiling. I do not think they fared very hard. Their windows all looking into a fine garden and the Park ; and mighty pretty rooms all. I wished myself one of the Capuchins. So away with the Almoner in his coach, talking merrily about the difference in our religions, to White Hall, and there we left him. To take up my wife and Mercer, and to Temple Bar to the Ordinary, and had a dish of meat for them, they having not dined, and thence to the King's house, and there saw "The Humorous Lieutenant : " a silly play I think ; only the Spirit in it that grows very tall, and then sinks again to nothing, having two heads breeding upon one, and then Knipp's singing, did please us. Here, in a box above, we spied Mrs. Pierce ; and, going out, they called us, and so we staid for them ; and Knipp took us all in, and brought to us Nelly, a most pretty woman, who

¹ Nell Gwynn.

acted the great part of Coelia to-day very fine, and did it pretty well : I kissed her, and so did my wife ; and a mighty pretty soul she is. We also saw Mrs. Hall,¹ which is my little Roman-nose black girl, that is mighty pretty : she is usually called Betty. Knipp made us stay in a box and see the dancing preparatory to to-morrow for "The Goblins," a play of Suckling's,² not acted these twenty-five years ; which was pretty ; and so away thence, pleased with this sight also, and specially kissing of Nell. In our way home, we find the Guards of horse in the street, and hear the occasion to be news that the seamen are in a mutiny ; which put me into a great fright ; and, when I come home, I hear of no disturbance there of the seamen, but that one of them, being arrested to-day, others do go and rescue him.

24th. At the office, we were frightened with news of fire at Sir W. Batten's by a chimney taking fire, and it put me into much fear and trouble, but with a great many hands and pains it was soon stopped. I home, where most of my company come of this end of the town — Mercer and her sister, Mr. Batelier and Pembleton, my Lady Pen, and Pegg, and Mr. Lowther, but did not stay long, and I believe it was by Sir W. Pen's order ; for they had a great mind to have staid, and also Captain Rolt. And, anon, at about seven or eight o'clock, comes Mr. Harris, of the Duke's play-

¹ Betty Hall. She was Sir Philip Howard's mistress. Compare 30th March, 1667. and 19th December, 1668.

² Sir John Suckling, the poet.

house, and brings Mrs. Pierce with him, and also one dressed like a country-mayde with a straw hat on; and, at first, I could not tell who it was, though I expected Knipp: but it was she coming off the stage just as she acted this day in "The Goblins;" a merry jade. Now my house is full, and four fiddlers that play well. Harris I first took to my closet; and I find him a very curious and understanding person in all pictures and other things, and a man of fine conversation; and so is Rolt. So away with all my company down to the office, and there fell to dancing, and continued at it an hour or two, there coming Mrs. Anne Jones, a merchant's daughter hard by, who dances well, and all in mighty good humour, and danced with great pleasure; and then sung and then danced, and then sung many things of three voices—both Harris and Rolt singing their parts excellently. Among other things, Harris sung his Irish song—the strangest in itself, and the prettiest sung by him, that ever I heard. Then to supper in the office, a cold, good supper, and wondrous merry. Here was Mrs. Turner, also, and Mrs. Markham: after supper to dancing again and singing, and so continued till almost three in the morning, and then, with extraordinary pleasure, broke up—only towards morning, Knipp fell a little ill, and so my wife home with her to put her to bed, and we continued dancing and singing; and, among other things, our Mercer unexpectedly did happen to sing an Italian song I know not, of which they two sung the other two parts too, that did almost ravish me, and made

me in love with her more than ever with her singing. As late as it was, yet Rolt and Harris would go home to-night, and walked it, though I had a bed for them ; and it proved dark, and a misly night, and very windy. The company being all gone to their homes, I up with Mrs. Pierce to Knipp, who was in bed ; and we waked her, and sung a song, and then left my wife to see Mrs. Pierce in bed to her, in our best chamber, and so to bed myself, my mind mightily satisfied with all this evening's work, and thinking it to be one of the merriest enjoyments I must look for in the world, and did content myself therefore with the thoughts of it, and so to bed ; only the musique did not please me, they not being contented with less than 30s.

25th. This afternoon I saw the Poll Bill, now printed ; wherein I do fear I shall be very deeply concerned, being to be taxed for all my offices, and then for my money that I have, and my title, as well as my head. It is a very great tax ; but yet I do think it is so perplexed, it will hardly ever be collected duly. The late invention of Sir G. Downing's is continued of bringing all the money into the Exchequer ; and Sir G. Carteret's three pence is turned for all the money of this act into but a penny per pound, which I am sorry for. This day the House hath passed the Bill for the Assessment, which I am glad of ; and also our little Bill, for giving any of us in the office the power of justice of peace, is done as I would have it.

27th (Lord's day). To Sir Philip Warwick, by ap-

pointment, to meet Lord Bellassis, and up to his chamber, but find him unwilling to discourse of business on Sundays: so did not enlarge. Went down and sat in a low room, reading "*Erasmus de scribendis epistolis*," a very good book, especially one letter of advice to a courtier most true and good, which made me once resolve to tear out the two leaves that it was writ in, but I forbore it. Roger Pepys and I to walk in the Pell Mell. I find by him that the House of Parliament continues full of ill humours; and do say how, in their late Poll Bill, which cost so much time, the yeomanry, and indeed two-thirds of the nation, are left out to be taxed, that there is not effectual provision enough made for collection of the money: and then, that after a man his goods are distrained and sold, and the overplus returned, I am to have ten days to make my complaints of being over-rated if there be cause, when my goods are sold, and that is too late. These things they are resolved to look into again, and mend them before they rise, which they expect at furthest on Thursday next. Here we met with Mr. May,¹ and he and we to talk of several things, of building, and such like matters. Walked to White Hall, and there I showed my cozen Roger the Duchess of York sitting in state, while her own mother stands by her; and my Lady Castlemaine, whom he approves to be very handsome, and wonders that she cannot be as good within as she is fair with-

¹ Hugh May.

out. Her little black boy came by him ; and, a dog being in his way, the little boy swore at the dog : " Now," says he, blessing himself, " would I whip this child till the blood come, if it were my child ! " and I believe he would. But he do by no means like the liberty of the Court, and did come with expectation of finding them playing at cards to-night, though Sunday ; for such stories he is told, but how true I know not.¹ My wife tells me Mr. Frampton² is gone to sea, and so she lost her labour to-day in thinking to hear him preach.

28th. To Westminster, where I spent the morning at the Lords' House door, to hear the conference between the two Houses about my Lord Mordaunt, of which there was great expectation, many hundreds of people coming to hear it. But, when they came, the Lords did insist upon my Lord Mordaunt's having leave to sit upon a stool uncovered within their barr, and that he should have counsel, which the Commons would not suffer, but desired leave to report their Lordships' resolution to the House of Commons ; and

¹ There is little reason to doubt that it was such as Evelyn describes it at a later time. " I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and prophaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening) which this day se'nnight I was witness of; the King sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland [*Castlemaine*] Mazarin, &c. A French boy singing love songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least 2000*l.* in gold before them; upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflexions with astonishment. Six days after was all in the dust." — *Diary*, February, 1685.

² See note, January 20, 1667, *ante*.

so parted for this day, which troubled me, I having by this means lost the whole day. Here I hear from Mr. Hayes that Prince Rupert is very bad still, and so bad, that he do now yield to be trepanned. Much work I find there is to do in the two Houses in a little time, and much difference there is between them in many things to be reconciled; as in the Bill for examining our accounts; Lord Mordaunt's; Bill for building the City, and several others. Home by coach, calling at Broad Street and taking the goldsmith home with me, and I paid him 15*l.* 15*s.* for my silver standish. He tells me gold holds up its price still, and did desire me to let him have what old 20*s.* pieces I have, and he would give me 3*s.* 2*d.* change for each. Comes Mr. Gauden at my desire to me, and to-morrow I shall pay him some money, and shall see what present he will make me, the hopes of which do make me part with my money out of my chest, which I should not otherwise do. After supper and reading a little, and my wife's cutting off my hair short, which is grown too long upon my crown of my head, I to bed.

29th. To the office, where Sir W. Pen and I look much askewe one upon another, though afterward business made us speak friendly enough, but yet we hate one another. Sir W. Batten came to me, and tells me that there is newes upon the Exchange to-day, that my Lord Sandwich's coach and the French Ambassador's at Madrid, meeting and contending for the way, they shot my Lord's postilion and another

man dead ;¹ and that we have killed 25 of theirs, and that my Lord is well. How true this is I cannot tell. Comes Mrs. Turner to me, to make her complaint of her sad usage from my Lord Brouncker, that he thinks much she hath not already got another house, though he himself hath employed her night and day ever since his first naming of the matter, to make part of her house ready for him, as he ordered, and promised she should stay till she had fitted herself; by which I perceive he is a rotten-hearted, false man, and, therefore, I must beware of him accordingly. I did pity the woman, and gave her the best council I could; and so, falling to other discourse, I made her laugh and merry, as sad as she came to me; so that I perceive no passion in a woman can be lasting long;² and so parted and I home, and there teaching my girl Barker part of my song "It is decreed," which she will sing prettily, and so after supper to bed.

30th. Fast-day for the King's death. I all the morning at my chamber making up my month's accounts, which I did before dinner to my thorough content, and find myself but a small gainer this month, having no manner of profits, but just my salary, but, blessed be God! that I am able to save out of that, living as I do. In the evening my wife

¹ Intended as retaliation, perhaps, for the humiliation experienced by D'Estrades in London. See 4th October, 1661, *ante*.

² Pepys might be thinking of Francis I.'s

"Souvent femme varie,
Bien fol est qui s'y fie."

and I and Mercer and Barker to little Michells, walked, with some neats' tongues and cake and wine, and there sat with the little couple with great pleasure and talked and eat and drank, and so walked home, about eight at night, it being a little moonshine and fair weather, into the garden, and, with Mercer, sang till my wife put me in mind of its being a fast-day; and so I was sorry for it, and stopped, and home to cards.¹

31st. Mr. Osborne comes from Mr. Gauden, and takes money and notes for 4000*l.*, and leaves me acknowledgment for 4800*l.* and odd; implying as if D. Gauden would give the 800*l.* between Povy and myself, but how he will divide it I know not. The Parliament is not yet up, being finishing some bills. Thus the month ends: myself in very good health and content of mind in my family. All our heads full in the office at this dividing of the Comptroller's duty. Parliament, upon breaking up, having given the King money with much ado, and great heats, and neither side pleased, neither King nor them. The imperfection of the Poll Bill, which must be mended before they rise, there being several horrible oversights to the prejudice of the King, is a certain sign of the care anybody hath of the King's business. Nobody knows who commands the fleete next year, or, indeed, whether we shall have a fleete or no.

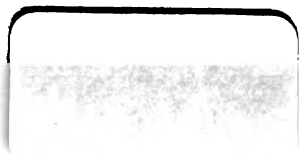
¹ The distinctions without a difference which Pepys draws, are often very ludicrous.

Great preparations in Holland and France, and the French have lately taken Antigo (Antigua) from us, which vexes us.¹

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THE FOURTH EDITION, 1854.

PAGE	LINE	
12	.. 1	For commanding . read <i>commending</i> .
15	.. 3	" main . . . " <i>many</i> .
78	.. 18	" me . . . " <i>the city</i> .
94	.. 23	" 12,00 . . . " 12,000.

¹ It is now not only English, but also the seat of a colonial bishopric.



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